Luke THE Beaulieu

Earl of *Castlehaven's*

Acton. d. 25.642.

REVIEVV:

OR HIS

MEMOIRS

OF HIS

Engagement and Carriage

IN THE

Irish Wars.

Enlarged and Corrected.

WITH AN

APPENDIX and POSTSCRIPT.

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THE Earl of *Caſtlehaven's* REVIEW: OR HIS MEMOIRS OF HIS Engagement and Carriage IN THE Iriſh Wars.

Enlarged and Corrected.

OF all the Practices uſed of late to Involve the Nation in a General Combuſtion, and once more to ſet us all together by the Ears, as nothing is more unchriſtian, ſo none can be of more dangerous Conſequence to the Publick, than the Peoples rubbing up old Sores,

and Reproaching one another (when they promiſe to Reform, and become Peaceable Subjects) with their paſt Crimes, or with the Names of Parties and Factions, to keep the Breach ſtill on Foot. It has always been ſo Deſtructive of the Peace and Quiet of all Common-wealths, that there can be no hopes of a Laſting Settlement, while this Animoſity continues. Hence it was that immediately upon his Majeſty's moſt happy Reſtoration, it was thought of abſolute neceſſity by the Repreſentative Wiſdom of the Nation, by King, Lords, and Commons, to Paſs an Act of Oblivion of all Crimes till then committed, and by certain Penalties to ſtop the Peoples mouths from uſing any words of Reproach tending to revive the memory of their paſt Calamities. But ſuch is the Licentiouſneſs of this Libelling Age, and ſo great is the Malice, and ſo prodigious the Impudence of ſome wicked men, whoſe Charity extends no further than their Intereſt; that while

while themſelves are the greateſt Criminals, they exclaim againſt others, as unworthy to live. Of this we have ſeveral Inſtances in divers Books and Pamphlets by them publiſhed theſe forty years paſt, and ſome with no good deſign reprinted ſince theſe laſt troublſom times. But they have exceeded all others, and outdone even themſelves, in the Tragical Storys they give us of the *Iriſh* Inſurrection in the Year 1641. Which they have ſo ſtrangely miſrepreſented to the World, and with ſuch Fictions and Invectives traduced the whole Nation, that wherever they are believed, an *Iriſh-man* can paſs for no other than a Monſter in Nature.

'Tis true, the *Iriſh* Inſurrection can never be juſtified, and had they alone been concerned in ſuch Crimes, it were very reaſonable, and juſt, if Prudence as well as Charity did not oblige us to forget and forgive, to have them expoſed to the World, and ſet forth in the blackeſt Colours: But when their Neighbour-Nations

were at leaſt equally Criminal; 'tis no more Equity in any man to raile againſt them in particular, than 'tis Prudence in a Magiſtrate to ſhut up only one Houſe when the Plague is Univerſal.

I muſt aver, I little expected to have any occaſion this time of the day to ſpeak or write any thing on this Subject, when I hoped all was forgiven and happily buried in Oblivion. But finding my ſelf mentioned afreſh, not without ſome new Aggravations, by theſe worthy Authors of Slander and Lyes, as having had a part in the *Iriſh* Rebellion; (tho leſt they ſhould do me ſome Juſtice, they are not pleaſed to tell how I have been uſed before I was brought to it, nor how I carried my ſelf while of that Party, nor yet what I have ſince done to expiate my Offence, by ſerving with all poſſible Zeal and Fidelity the late and preſent King ever ſince the Peace there concluded in 46.) I find my ſelf under a neceſſity to ſay ſomething in my own Defence, by ſetting forth the

the truth of my ſtory, in as brief and plain a method as poſſible, to obviate the falſe and Malicious Calumnies of theſe forging Scriblers. But before I go farther, I muſt deſire the Reader to make ſome difference between the firſt beginners of the Rebellion, and thoſe that afterwards carried on the War under the title of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*. And to ſhew what ground there is for this Diſtinction, I ſhall here give a ſhort account of the Riſe and Progreſs of that Inſurrection, and begin with my conceptions on the Motives and Inducements, the Lord *Macguyre*, Sir *Phelim Oneile*, and others their accomplices, had to enter into that wicked Conſpiracy.

After the *Scots* had Rebelled againſt the King in the Year 1638. though they ſoon laid down their Arms on the pacification at *Barwick*, where I was, yet the fire was but ſmothered for that time, not altogether extinguiſhed. For in the Year 1640. it broke out with greater violence,

than before, when they Invaded *England*, fought and beat the King's Troops at *Newborn*, and advancing took *Newcaſtle*.

On this Alarm the King came to *York* where he Aſſembled his Great Council of all the Peers of the Kingdom, amongſt whom I was one; and by their advice the Treaty at *Rippon* was ſet on foot, where a ſuſpenſion of Arms was concluded with the *Scots*, on condition to pay them above 25000 *l. per* Month, to the great Diſcredit of the *Engliſh Nation*. All this time the King was importuned with Petitions from moſt Counties of *England* for a ſpeedy Parliament; to which his Majeſty agree'd: and having Diſſolved his Great Council of Peers, he ordered that unfortunate Parliament to be Summoned, which met at *Weſtminſter*, the third of *November* following.

Great was the Peoples expectation concerning the Reſolutions of this new Parliament; having in about 12 years before ſeen none, but that ſhort one

one of *April* preceding, which lasting but two and twenty days, spent for the most part in idle Preliminaries and declamatory Harangues, came not to any issue touching the publick Affairs of the Nation. The King at the opening of this Session, sets forth how the *Scots*, without any Cause or Provocation, came in an horrible manner Arm'd into *England*, were then gnawing the Bowels of the Kingdom, and like so to continue, unless speedily prevented by his and their joynt Concurrence. In order therefore to reduce these Gentlemen, he gives both Houses all possible assurance of his readiness to concur with them in any thing they could find effectual for setling the Peace and Redressing the real Grievances of his Subjects. But this, and many other such Gracious Condescentions, served only to increase the Flame among the Factious, who now, instead of Voting the *Scotch* Army Rebels and Traitors, not only stiled them Dear Brethren, but bestowed

on them 300000 *l.* for their kindneſs, and Voted Mr. *Gervaſe Holles* to be expel'd the Houſe, for ſaying, upon their debate how this Money ſhould be paid, *That the beſt way of paying them was by Arms to expel them out of the Kingdom.* Neither was this all. The *Scots* are no more careſſed on the one hand, than the Kings Miniſters and Friends are run down on the other: and the more the good King gave way to their madneſs, and yielded to their moſt unreaſonable demands, in hopes they would at laſt become Sober, and mind their Duty, the more Inſolent and Imperious ſtill they grew; as if nothing but the total Subverſion of the Government could in any meaſure ſatisfie their Ambition. Which though they carried ſmoothly for ſome time, till they had got themſelves firſt made *Triennial* and at laſt Perpetual Dictators, and by ſending the Biſhops to the Tower had Robbed their Prince of twenty ſix Votes at once, and of a great deal more by Paſſing the Bill of *Attainder*;

yet

yet nothing was more visible in all their proceedings, than their ill Designs against the Monarchy, and thereupon the approach of a sudden Rupture between the King and the Factious part of both Houses.

The Lord *Maguyre*, Sir *Phelim Oneile*, and others of the *Irish* Nation dissatisfied with their own Condition, and consequently weary of the Government there, thought this Conjuncture very seasonable for their purpose: and like the Asse in the Apologue (who by imitating the fawning Dog expected to get into his Masters favour, but was soundly bastinado'd for his folly) doubted not but by taking the like method, they should fare no worse than the *Scots* in the Redress of their Grievances. And therefore that they should not lose the advantage of so fair an Opportunity, they quickly put their heads together, and concluded that on the 23*d*. of *October* 1641, they should Surprize the Castle of *Dublin*, the chief Magazine of the Kingdom: and

and upon their good Succeſs in that Attempt, endeavour to take in the reſt. But Providence timely diſcovered this wicked Conſpiracy, and the Plotters fell into the Pit themſelves digged for others: *Macguire*, and *Mackmahon* were taken, and being ſent into *England*, Executed at *Tyburn*, and the reſt forced to retire into Woods and Mountains to ſave themſelves from the hands of Juſtice.

Now the *Iriſh* offered me, while I was among them ſeveral Reaſons (beſides theſe mentioned) why they would at this time enter into ſuch a horrid Combination againſt their Natural Soveraign. But theſe following, I think, are the moſt conſiderable.

Firſt, They obſerved, that by the Governors of that Kingdom they were generally looked upon as a Conquered Nation, ſeldom or never treated like Natural or Free-born Subjects: and for their farther excuſe ſaid beſides, that diſcontented people, while thus uſed, are very apt to think they are no longer obliged,

than

than they are forced, to Obedience; but may by the ſame way they had loſt, when able, regain their Liberty.

Secondly, It grieved them extremely, that on the account of *Tyrone*'s Rebellion, as they ſaid, ſix whole Counties in *Ulſter* were in a lump eſcheated to the Crown, and little or nothing reſtored to the Natives, though ſeveral of them never joyn'd with *Tyrone*, but a great part beſtowed by King *James* on his Countreymen.

Thirdly, It did not a little heighten their diſcontent, that in the Earl of *Strafford*'s time there was a great noiſe of intitling the Crown to the Counties of *Roſcomon*, *Mayo*, *Galway*, and *Cork*, with ſome parts of *Tipperary*, *Limericke*, *Wicklow*, and others: and they averred that experience tells us, where the Peoples Property is like to be Invaded, neither Religion nor Loyalty is able to keep them within bounds, if they find themſelves in a condition to make any conſiderable Oppoſition: and ſo brought in the ſaying of thoſe reſolute Ambaſſadors of

of the *Privernates*, who tho reduced to ſuch a very low condition, that they came to beg Peace of the Senate of *Rome*, yet being asked what Peace ſhould the *Romans* expect from them that had broke it ſo often? they boldly anſwered, (which made the Senate accept of their Propoſals) if a good one, it ſhall be faithful and laſting; but if bad, it ſhall not hold very long. For think not (ſaid they) that any People, or even any man, will in that Condition, whereof they are weary, continue any longer than of neceſſity they muſt. *Liv. lib.* 8.

Fourthly, They found that ſince the Sitting of this Parliament great Severities were uſed againſt the Roman-Catholicks in *England*, and both Houſes ſollicited by ſeveral Petitions out of *Ireland* to have thoſe of that Kingdom treated with the like Rigor. which to a People ſo fond of their Religion as the *Iriſh*, was no ſmall inducement to make them, while there was an opportunity offered, to ſtand upon their Guard.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, They ſaw the *Scots* by pretending Grievances, and taking up Arms to get them Redreſſed, had not only gained divers Priviledges and Immunites, but got 300000*l.* for their viſit, beſides 850*l.* a day for ſeveral Months together. And this Precedent encouraged the *Iriſh* ſo much at that time, that they offered it to *Owen OConally*, who diſcovered the Deſign, as their chief motive of Riſing then in Rebellion. Which (ſaid he) they engag'd in, to be rid of the Tyrannical Government that was over them, and to imitate *Scotland*, who by that courſe had enlarged their Priviledges. *OConally's* Exam. *Octob.* 22. 1641. *Borlaſes* Hiſtory of the *Iriſh* Rebellion. p. 21.

Laſtly, They foreſaw the Storm draw on, and ſuch miſunderſtandings daily ariſe between the King and Parliament, as portended no leſs than a ſudden Rupture between them. which made theſe Male-contents believe, the King thus engaged, partly at home, and partly with the *Scots*, could

could not be able to ſuppreſs them ſo far off; and therefore rather than hold out, would grant them any thing they could in reaſon demand, at leaſt more than otherwiſe they could expect.

Much to this purpoſe Mr. *Howel* writ of the original of this Rebellion in his *Mercurius Hibernicus* in the year 43. whoſe words, becauſe an Impartial Author and a known Proteſtant, I will here tranſcribe in confirmation of what I have ſaid, and for the Readers farther ſatisfaction. *The* Iriſh *hearing* (ſaith he) *how well their next Neighbours had ſped by way of Arms, it filled them full of thoughts and apprehenſions of Fear and Jealouſy, that the* Scot (*than whom no Nation upon Earth is in that perfection and with greater Antipathy hated by the* Iriſh) *would prove more powerful hereby; and conſequently more able to do them hurt, and to attempt ways to reſtrain them of that Connivance which they were allowed in point of Religion.— Moreover they entred into Conſideration,*

on, that they alſo had ſundry Grievances and Grounds of Complaint, both touching their Eſtates and Conſciences, which they pretended to be far greater than thoſe of the Scots. *For they fell to think that if the* Scot *was ſuffered to introduce a New Religion, it was reaſon they ſhould not be puniſhed in the Exerciſe of their Old, which they glory never to have altered. And for temporal matters, wherein the* Scot *had no Grievance at all to ſpeak of, the new Plantations, which had been lately a foot, to be made in* Connaught *and other places; the concealed Lands and defective Titles, which were daily found out; the new Cuſtoms which were Impoſed; and the incapacity they had to any Preferment or Office in Church and State, with other things, they conceived to be Grievances of a far greater nature, and that deſerved Redreſs much more than any the* Scot *had. To this end they ſent over Commiſſioners to attend this Parliament in* England *with certain Propoſitions; but they were diſmiſſed hence with a ſhort and unſavoury*

Anſwer,

Anſwer: which bred worſe blood in the Nation than was formerly gathered. And this with that leading caſe of the Scot, *may be ſaid to be the firſt incitements that made them riſe.*

2. *In the courſe of humane Actions we daily find a true Rule,* Exempla movent, *Examples move and make a ſtrong impreſſion upon the Fancy; Precepts are not ſo powerful as Precedents. The ſaid Example of* Scotland *wrought ſo wonderfully upon the imagination of the* Iriſh, *and filled them (as I touched before) with thoughts of Emulation, that they deſerved altogether to have as good uſage as the* Scot; *their Countrey being far more beneficial, and conſequently more importing the* Engliſh *Nation. But theſe were but confuſed imperfect Notions, which began to receive more vigour and form after the death of the Earl of* Strafford, *who kept them under ſo exact an Obedience, tho ſome Cenſured him to have ſcrewed up the ſtrings of the Harp too high, that the taking off of that Earls head, may be ſaid to be the ſecond incitement*

to

to the heads of that Insurrection to stir.

3. *Add hereunto that the* Irish *understanding with what acrimony the Roman-Catholicks in* England *were proceeded against, since the Sitting of our Parliament, and what further designs were on foot against them, and not only against them, but for ranversing the Protestant Religion, which some shallow-brain'd Schismaticks, throw into the same Scales with Popery; they thought it was high time for them to forecast what should become of them, and how they should be handled in point of Conscience, when a new Deputy of the Parliaments Election, approbation at least, should come over. Therefore they fell to consult of some means of timely prevention. And this was another motive, and it was a shrewd one, which push'd on the* Irish *to take up Arms.*

Lastly, That Army of 8000. *men which the Earl of* Strafford *had raised to be transported into* England *for suppressing the* Scot, *being by the advice*

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of

of our Parliament here Disbanded, the Country was annoyed by ſome of thoſe ſtragling Soldiers, as not one in twenty of the Iriſh, *will from the Sword to the Spade, or from the Pike to the Plow again. Therefore the two Marqueſſes that were Ambaſſadors here then from* Spain, *having propounded to have ſome numbers of thoſe Disbanded Forces, for the Service of their Maſter; his Majeſty by the mature advice of his Privy-Council, to occur the Miſchiefs that might ariſe to his Kingdom of* Ireland, *by thoſe looſe Caſhiered Soldiers, yielded to the Ambaſſadors motion, who ſent notice thereof to* Spain *accordingly, and ſo provided Shipping for their Tranſport, and impreſſed Money to advance the buſineſs; But as they were in the height of that Work, his Majeſty being then in* Scotland, *there was a ſudden ſtop made of thoſe promiſed Troops, who had depended long on the* Spaniards *Service, as the* Spaniards *had done on theirs. And this was the laſt, though not the leaſt, fatal Cauſe of that horrid Inſurrection. All which*

particulars

particulars well considered, it had been no hard matter to have been a Prophet, and standing upon the top of Holy-Head, *to have foreseen those black Clouds, Ingendring in the* Irish *Air, which broke out afterwards into such fearful Tempests of blood. Out of these premises it is easie for any common understanding, not transported with passion and private Interest, to draw this conclusion: That they who complyed with the* Scot *in his Insurrection; they who dismissed the* Irish *Commissioners with such a short unpolitick Answer; They who took off the Earl of* Strafford's *Head, and afterwards delayed the Dispatching of the Earl of* Leicester; *They who hindred those Disbanded Troops in* Ireland *to go for* Spain, *may be justly said to have been the true causes of the late Insurrection of the* Irish.

Thus concludes this Learned and Ingenious Gentleman, who, as being then his Majesties *Historiographer*, was as likely as any man to know the transactions of those times, and as

an *Engliſh-man* and a Loyal Proteſtant, was beyond all Exception of Partiality or Favour of the Papiſts of *Ireland*; and therefore could have no other reaſon, but the love of Truth and Juſtice, to give this Account of the *Iriſh* Rebellion, or make the *Scotch*, and their wicked Brethren in the Parliament of *England*, the main occaſion of that horrid Inſurrection. Neither was this the ſingle Opinion of Mr. *Howel*, but the common ſentiment of all honeſt and knowing Men, confirmed even by the dying words of our Royal Martyr in the twelfth Chapter of his *Eikon Baſilike*, where he ſaith, *Certainly it is thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigor and unreaſonable Severity, which ſome men carried before them in* England, *was not the leaſt incentive that kindled and blew up into thoſe horrid Flames, the ſparks of Diſcontent which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fuel for Rebellion in* Ireland; *where deſpair being added to their former diſcontents, and the fears of*

utter

utter Extirpation to their wonted Oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion a People prone enough to break out to all exorbitant Violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the natural deſires of Liberty; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraint, and to prevent thoſe after rigors, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own. And again: I believe, it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroil my other Kingdoms, are in great part Guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timely ſtopping thoſe horrid Effuſions of blood in Ireland.

'Tis plain therefore, tho other motives were not wanting to render many of that Nation ill affected to the Government and prepare them

for Violence, the unexpected ſucceſs of the *Scots* and the daily miſunderſtandings between the King and the Parliament in *England*, gave at this time birth and life to the *Iriſh* Rebellion. For I muſt confeſs, I am my ſelf now, as I have been long ſince upon ſerious Reflections abundantly convinced, that however the circumſtances of *this time gave life and birth* to that Rebellion of *Ireland*; yet the deſign of it had been laid partly at home, but chiefly abroad in Foreign Parts, even ſeveral years before the troubles either of *England* or *Scotland* began. And that the original, true and great motive indeed thereof was no other than that *fatal one* which for ſo many hundred years from *Hen.* II. to the beginning of King *James*'s Reign had been not only the very ſource of all the dangerous Rebellions of that Country; but the very bane and ruine of its People on all ſides for ſo many ages. The National Feud, I mean, betwixt the *meer Iriſh* (as the *ancient Mileſians*

ſians are called) and *later Iriſh*, or Colonies of *Engliſh* extraction among them: and the unalterable perſwaſion of the former, that the *Engliſh Conqueſt* of that Country was but meer Uſurpation without any juſt Title: and that the right both to the Supream Sovereignty and Proprietorſhip too of all the Lands of *Ireland* ſtill remained according to the ancient *Brehon* Laws of that Country (which ſay they, had never been Legally Repealed or Antiquated) and conſequently alſo according to the Laws of God) in the Surviving Heirs of the more ancient Natives, the *Mileſians*. It is true that forty years continual and flouriſhing Peace in all obedience to the *Engliſh* Laws there, from the laſt of Queen *Elizabeth* to 1641. ſeemed to carry a fair outſide, as if all thoſe National former Animoſities and pretences had been utterly extinguiſhed. But alas! the old leven ſtill fermented inwardly of one ſide: and among that ſide the fire was but cover'd under hot

Embers. The Earls of *Tirone* and *Tirconel*, and the Councils of *Spain* and *Rome*, and the *Iriſh* Monaſteries and Seminaries in ſo many Countrys of *Europe*, and very many of the Churchmen returning home out of them, and chiefly the titular Biſhops, together with the Superiors of Regular Orders, took an effectual courſe, under the ſpecious colour of Religion, to add continually new fuel to the burning coals, and prepare 'em for a flame on the firſt opportunity; which whoever did not ſee in the beginning of this Rebellion, (as many did not) by obſerving what extraction or what names all the firſt Appearers in it were of: and how particularly of the whole hundred that were deſigned for ſeizing the Caſtle of *Dublin*, there was not ſo much as one perſon of *Britiſh* blood, extraction, or name among them: might nevertheleſs, and without the help of any multiplying glaſs, moſt clearly ſee it in the procedure of the War. Certainly in my opinion, 1. That whole and great and moſt

moſt numerous Party's exclaiming every where, both at home, in *Ireland*, and abroad in other Countrys, againſt the *very firſt Ceſſation* concluded with the Kings Lieutenant the Marqueſs of *Ormond*: and in foreign Courts repreſenting thoſe Confederates that concluded it, not only as falſly aſſuming the name of *Iriſh* men, but as really favouring the Schiſm and Hereſies of *England*. 2. Their forcing after, at the end of three years more, both the Repreſentatives and whole Body of the *Iriſh Confederates* to reject ſo ſcandalouſly and perfidiouſly as they did the Peace of 46. 3. Their oppoſing ſo long, and in ſuch manner as they had done the *Peace* of 48. till it was too late to retrieve it, or ſubmit to it: were ſuch arguments, as upon ſerious reflection might convince any unbyaſſed perſon, what the primary grand deſign and Original ſourſe of that Rebellion was; and what alſo the natural end of it muſt have been, if ſucceſs had anſwered the expectation of the

the great contrivers, in their Plot for ſeizing the chief Magazine of the Kingdom, the Caſtle of *Dublin*.

And yet I muſt withal acknowledg, there has been from the very beginning of the Rebellion a conſiderable number of thoſe very ancient *Mileſians*, that upon all occaſions ſided ſtill with ſuch other Confederate Catholicks as endeavoured all they could to bring back the whole Nation to their former Obedience to the King and his Laws. In that number the Lord Viſcount *Muskry* (after Earl of *Clancarty*) with his whole Party the *OCallaghans* and ſome other Gentlemen thereof men of note in *Mounſter*, were eminent. To whom, after the Nuncio's Excommunication publiſhed againſt thoſe that obeyed the Ceſſation of Arms concluded with the Lord of *Inchiquin*, many others alſo of the ſaid *Mileſians* in other Provinces joyned themſelves in order to the Peace of 48. and conſequently their return to the King. Among theſe, beſides the Lord of *Iveagh*, *Alexander*

mac

mac Donel, and others, even that unfortunate gentleman Sr. *Phelim ONeill* himſelf was one, tho after all, I muſt likewiſe acknowledg that becauſe the far greater number of the *Mileſians*, at leaſt ſtronger Party of them was on the other ſide, their wilfull Obſtinacy rendred at long run all the endeavors and returns of honeſt men wholly unſignificant and fruitleſs whether to the King or themſelves, or to defend their Country from being utterly ſubdued at the end of three years more by the Parliament Forces.

But if any peradventure think otherwiſe either of the different inclinations and endeavors of thoſe Partys among the *more ancient Iriſh* themſelves, or of that very Original deſign and ſourſe of the Rebellion which I have nakedly given according to my own later thoughts of both: yet forasmuch as I put here no ſtreſs at all on ſuch matters, I paſs them over: and only at preſent aver, That whatever the primary grand Deſign, whatever the ſourſe of this Rebellion was, or might

might have been; it is notwithstanding in all appearance beyond dispute, that (as I have said before) the unexpected Success of the *Scots*, and the daily misunderstandings between the King and the Parliament in *England*, was that which gave it *Birth and Life at this time, viz.* on the 23. of *October* 1641. As for the Massacre that ensued, it was certainly very barbarous and inhumane, though I cannot believe the tenth part of the *Brittish* Natives (reported by Sir *John Temple* and others of the same kidney to have been murdered by the *Irish*) lived then in that Kingdom out of Cities, and walled Towns, where no such Massacre was Committed. I am certain in Sir *John Temple*'s Muster-Rolls, of whom the subsequent Scribblers borrowed all their Catalogues, there are not 50000 persons to be found, though 'tis manifest that in divers places he repeats the same people and with the same circumstances twice or thrice over, and mentions hundreds, as then murdered, that lived

ved many years after, Nay, ſome even this day alive. Nevertheleſs, 'tis very certain, that there have been great cruelties committed upon the *Engliſh*, tho I believe not the twentieth part of what is generally reported. But the truth is, they were very bloody on both ſides, and tho ſome will throw all upon the *Iriſh*, yet 'tis well known who they were that uſed to give Orders to their Parties ſent into the Enemies Quarters, to ſpare neither Man, Woman, nor Child. And the leading men among the *Iriſh* have this to ſay for themſelves, that they were all along ſo far from favouring any of the Murderers, that not only by their Agents ſoon after the Kings Reſtoration, but even in their Remonſtrance preſented by the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſtown* and Sir *Robert Talbot* on the 17th of *March* 1642. the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation deſired, That the Murders on both ſides committed ſhould be ſtrictly examined

See *Borlaſe* his *Hiſtory* p. 58.

amined, and the Authors of them punished according to the utmost severity of the Law. Which proposal certainly their Adversaries could never have rejected, but that they were conscious to themselves of being deeper in the Mire, than they would have the World believe.

This is plain matter of Fact, and the consequence of it so obvious, that notwithstanding all the groundless Clamors of some, who loudly cry out against the *Irish*, but speak not a word of their own Rebellion, I must do that Kingdom so much Justice, as to declare that I can no more believe the leading part of the Nation did ever design, much less encourage, the Barbarous Cruelties there committed, than I can be perswaded that the Lords and Commons, who first made War against the late King in *England*, did from the beginning intend to imbrue their hands in his Sacred blood. Yet still I think them inexcusable, because I see no great difference, whether a man kills another

ther himſelf, or unchains a fierce Maſtiff, that will tear him to pieces. I cannot therefore but believe the Contrivers of the *Iriſh* Rebellion and their Abettors guilty of the Maſſacre that enſued, tho committed by the rude Rabble, no leſs than thoſe that raiſed the late Rebellion in *England*, as guilty of their Princes blood, as if they had actually been Regicides; tho the Army on the one hand, and the Rabble on the other, did the work, which their firſt movers, who unchained them from their Obedience to the Laws, were not able to hinder.

As for the generality of the Nation, whatever the *Northern* Rebels gave out to the contrary, to encourage their Party, and induce others to joyn with them: 'tis manifeſt, they knew nothing of the Deſign before, nor favoured it after it was diſcovered; as appears by their ſolemn proteſtation in Parliament on *November* 16. 1641. when meeting according to their Prorogation in the Caſtle

Caſtle of *Dublin*, and this Rebelliion being laid before them by the Lords Juſtices, Sir *William Parſons* and Sir *John Borlaſe*, in order (as they ſaid) to find out ſome effectual means to reduce the Rebels, and bring them to Juſtice, both Houſes immediately declared their abhorrence to the Rebellion, and agreed *Nemine Contradicente* to the following Proteſtation.

'Whereas the happy and peaceable ſtate of this Realm hath been of late and is ſtill interrupted by ſundry perſons ill-affected to the Peace and Tranquillity thereof; who contrary to their Duty and Loyalty to his Majeſty and againſt the Laws of God and the fundamental Laws of this Realm, have Traiterouſly and Rebelliouſly Raiſed Arms, Seized upon his Majeſties Forts and Caſtles, and Diſpoſſeſſed many of his Faithful Subjects of their Houſes, Lands, and Goods, and have ſlain many of them, and committed other Cruel and Inhumane Outrages and Acts of Hoſtility within this Realm: the

'ſaid

'ſaid Lords and Commons in Parlia-
'ment Aſſembled, being juſtly mo-
'ved with a right Senſe of the ſaid
'Diſloyal and Rebellious Proceedings
'and Actions of the Perſons afore-
'ſaid, do hereby Proteſt and Declare
'that the ſaid Lords and Commons
'from their hearts do Deteſt and Ab-
'hor the ſaid Abominable Actions,
'and that they ſhall and will to
'their utmoſt power, maintain the
'right of his Majeſties Crown and
'Government of this Realm, and the
'Peace and ſafety thereof, as well a-
'gainſt the Perſons aforeſaid, their
'Abettors, and Adherents, as alſo a-
'gainſt all Foreign Princes, Poten-
'tates and other Perſons and attempts
'whatſoever; And in caſe the per-
'ſons do not repent of their aforeſaid
'Actions, and lay down Arms, and
'become humble Suitors to his Maje-
'ſty for Grace and Mercy, in ſuch
'convenient time, and in ſuch manner,
'and form as by his Majeſty or the
'chief Governor or Governors and
'the Council of this Realm, ſhall

'be ſet down; The Lords and Com-
'mons do further Proteſt and Declare,
'that they will take up Arms, and
'will with their Lives and Fortunes
'ſuppreſs them and their Attempts,
'in ſuch a way, as by the Authority
'of the Parliament of this Kingdom
'with the Approbation of his moſt
'excellent Majeſty, or his Majeſties
'Chief Governor, or Governors of
'this Kingdom, ſhall be thought moſt
'effectual. See *Burlaſe's* Hiſt. p. 33.

Thus both Houſes of Parliament, the true Repreſentative of the Nations Loyalty unanimouſly declared their readineſs to Proſecute and Suppreſs the Rebels, and in order to bring them ſpeedily to condign Puniſhment; having with all poſſible Zeal and Alacrity, offered their Lives and Fortunes to the Lords Juſtices, they fell immediately to conſider of the moſt effectual means to do the Work. But this way of Proceeding did not it ſeems, ſquare, with the Lords Juſtices Deſigns, who were often heard to ſay, that the more were in Rebellion, the more

more Lands ſhould be forfeit to them; and therefore in the very heat of the buſineſs they reſolved upon a Prorogation: Which the Parliament underſtanding, the Lord Vicount *Caſtelloe* and my ſelf, were ſent from the Lords Houſe and others from the Commons, to the Lords Juſtices, to deſire the continuance of the Parliament at leaſt till the Rebels (then few in number) were reduced. But our Addreſs was ſlighted, and the Parliament the next day Prorogued, to the great ſurprize of both Houſes, and the general diſlike of all honeſt and knowing men.

This encouraged the Rebels, and vaſtly increaſed their numbers in divers places of the Kingdom. Freedom of Rapine and Murder, drew ſuch numbers of men together, that the few deſperate Malecontents, who began the Tragedy, in a ſhort time became a formidable Army; and were at length ſo bold, as to Beſiege *Droghe-da*, about twenty miles from *Dublin*; to the Succour of which Major *Roper* Marching with 7 or 800 men, was

in a great mist (near *Gillianstown*) set upon by the Rebels and defeated; whereupon they forced the Country round about, (as the *Scots* the year before did the Northern parts of *England*) to a Weekly Contribution, for the Payment of their Army, which afterwards was by the Lords Justices made a great Crime, (though in the North of *England* the like was thought none by the King) as if the Contribution favoured and encouraged the Rebellion.

The Members of Parliament in this Disorder retired to their several Habitations in the Country; so did I to mine, but had not been long at home, when I receiv'd a Letter Signed by the Viscounts of *Gormanstown*, and *Netterville*, and by the Barons of *Slane*, *Lowth*, and *Dunsany*, with an inclosed to the Lords Justices, which these Noble-men desired me to send, and if possible, to get their Lordships Answer. the Letter was very humble and submissive, desiring only they might have permission to send their

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Petitions into *England*, to repreſent their Grievances to the King: wherefore I ſent it incloſed to the Lords Juſtices, who were ſilent as to theirs, yet anſwered mine, tho little more than a Covert; in which they ſaid, theſe Lords were Rebels and Traitors, and adviſed me to receive no more Letters from them. I readily ſubmitted, nor do I know to this hour, how that Letter came to my hands.

All this while Parties were ſent out by the Lords Juſtices, and Council from *Dublin*, and moſt Gariſons throughout the Kingdom, to kill and deſtroy the Rebels; but the Officers and Soldiers took little or no care to diſtinguiſh between Rebels, and Subjects, but killed in many places promiſcuouſly Men, Women, and Children; which procedure, not only exaſperated rhe Rebels, and induced them to commit the like Cruelties upon the *Engliſh*, but frightned the Nobility and Gentry round about, who ſeeing the harmleſs Country People, without reſpect to Age, or Sex, thus

barbarouſly murdered, and themſelves openly threatned as favourers of the Rebellion, for paying the Contribution they could not poſſibly refuſe, they reſolved to ſtand upon their Guard. Nevertheleſs, before they would attempt any thing againſt the Government, they ſought ſeveral ways to get their Petitions conveyed to the King, and at length prevailed with Sir *John Read* a Scotch-man, and one of his Majeſties Servants, (then going for *England*) to undertake it; who coming to the Marqueſs of *Ormond* upon his March towards *Drogheda* was (on what Suſpicion I know not) by him ſent to the Lords Juſtices to *Dublin*, and not concealing what he carried, by them Impriſoned, and ſoon after put to the Rack. Much about this time was the like done to *Patrick Barnwell* of *Kilbrew*, a man of 66 years of Age, but upon what account I cannot tell; only have been told, his Crime was that he came in upon the Lords Juſtices Proclamation of Pardon to

those of the Pale, that would in ten days submit themselves; and was so wise, as not to consider that Free-holders (as being more Criminal than the rest, because of their Estates) were by the Lords Justices expressly excepted out of that Proclamation. As to *Read*, several questions were put to him, and among the rest, he was much pressed to tell, how far the late King, and Queen were privy to, or concerned in the *Irish* Rebellion: this is notoriously known; but I have it more particularly from my brother Coll. *Mervin Touchett*, who heard it from Sir *John Read* himself, as he was brought out of the Room, where he was Racked. *Borlase p. 30.*

This did not a little enflame the reckoning, and it was a great addition to their discontent, that the King referred the whole business of *Ireland* (whereby they thought he deserted the protection of his People) to the Parliament of *England*, who thereupon passed such

wild Votes and Ordinances, as tended to the utter extirpation of the Natives of that Kingdom; not only declaring on *December* 8. 1641. that they would never give consent to any Toleration of the Popish Religion in *Ireland*, or in any other his Majesties Dominions, *Burlase*, p. 34. but enacting further in *February* following, when few of any considerable fortune, or Estate were concerned in the Rebellion, that two Millions and five hundred Thousand Acres of profitable Land in *Ireland*, besides Bogs, Woods, and Barren Mountains, should be assigned to adventurers for small proportions of money (which was afterwards employ'd to raise Armies against the King in *England*) to reduce the Rebels of that Kingdom. But the greatest discontent of all, was about the Lords Justices proroguing the Parliament, the only way the Nation had to express their Loyalty and prevent their being misrepresented to their Sovereign; which had it been permitted to sit for

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any reaſonable time, would in all likelihood without any great charge or trouble, have brought the Rebels to Juſtice. For the War that afterwards enſued, was headed and carried on principally by Members that ſate then in Parliament. And to ſay theſe members were all along concerned in the Rebellion or engaged with the firſt contrivers of it, is to make them not only the greateſt knaves, but the verieſt fools on Earth, ſince otherwiſe they could not have been ſo earneſt for the continuance of the Parliam. whilſt ſitting in the Caſtle, and under the Lords Juſtices Guards, who upon the leaſt Intelligence, which could not long be wanting, had no more to do but to ſhut the Gates, and make them all Priſoners, without any poſſibility of eſcape or hopes of Redemption.

Thus the Contagion ſpread it ſelf by degrees over the whole Kingdom, and now there's no more looking back, for all were in Arms, and full of Indignation;

tion; Fighting there was almoſt in every corner, and very unfortunately for me; one encounter hapned in the ſight of my Houſe at *Maddingſtown*, between the Marqueſs of *Ormond* Commanding the *Engliſh*, and the Lord Viſcount *Mount garrett* the *Iriſh* Forces, where the latter was defeated. This Encounter goes by the name of the Battel of *Killruſh*, fought the 15th of *April*, 1642. The *Engliſh* were not above 3000 men ſtrong, but were bold and expert Troops well Officer'd, with ſome Commands; the *Iriſh* were more in number, but ill Armed, and but newly formed into Bodies.

After this defeat my Lord of *Ormond* being to paſs with his Army, juſt by my Gates, ſome of his Officers of my acquaintance, came Galloping before, aſſuring me his Lordſhip would be with me in half an hour. Hereupon I beſtirred my ſelf, and having two or three Cooks, a good Barns door, and plenty of Wines, (for beſides my own Family,

I had with me the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*, the Marqueſs of *Antrim*, her Husband, and the Lady *Roſse*, Mr *Daniel*, his Siſter) we patched up a Dinner ready to be ſet upon the Table at my Lord's coming in; But ſome that came with him turn'd this another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and publiſhed through the Army, that it was a mighty Feaſt prepared for my Lord *Mount-garrett*, and the Rebels. This through the *Engliſh* Army paſſed for currant, and I believe did me no ſmall prejudice, with the Lords Juſtices, as ſhall appear by the ſequel of my ſtory, which I ſhall now purſue with a Letter I received from my Brother, Coll. *Mervin Touchett* upon this Occaſion.

Hearing your Lordſhip is now writing ſomewhat again of your concerns in Ireland *during the late War: tho I, as one that was with you there in the beginning of the Troubles, and therefore poſſibly might mind you of ſome Paſſa-*

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ges more in my knowledge than yours, have before written to you on that ſubject; yet now remembring ſome things I had then omitted, I add them here.

When the Rebellion broke forth in the North, *you were in* Mounſter: *and on the News, you immediately repaired to* Dublin, *to the Lords Juſtices, Sir* William Parſons, *and Sir* John Burlace, *where you acquainted them with your willingneſs to ſerve the King againſt the Rebels, as your Anceſtors had formerly done in* Ireland, *on like occaſions: to which they reply'd, your Religion was an Obſtacle. There being then a Parliament in that Kingdom Sitting, you were reſolved to ſee the event, ſending me to your Houſe at* Madingtown, *in the County of* Kildare, *to ſecure and defend it, in caſe there were any Riſing in thoſe Parts. Upon my coming, I found many poor* Engliſh *ſtript, whom I took into the Houſe and Relieved, defending them in the beſt manner I could. Some time after, the Parliament being Diſſolved, you deſired of the Juſtices a Paſs to go for* England.

gland. *But they refuſing, you acquainted them that your Eſtate there was not in a condition to maintain you in* Dublin; *and deſired that you might be ſupplied with ſome mony, for your ſubſiſtance, until ſuch time that you could apply your ſelf to the Parliament in* England *for a Paſs to bring you over; which they denied. You preſt them then to direct you what courſe you ſhould ſteer. To which they replyed: Go home and make fair Weather. You took this Advice, and being come, my Lord of* Antrim *and my Lady Dutcheſs of* Buckingham, *ſoon followed; and you were very well pleaſed with ſo good company to ſpend your Proviſions. But in a ſhort time, the* Iriſh *came and drove away a great part of your ſtock to a Village near. It being night, you deſired me to take your Servants and endeavor the recovery; which I did, bringing with me two or three of the chiefeſt Conductors of this Rabble. This enrag'd the* Iriſh *ſo much, as you conceived I was not ſafe there: and therefore ſent me to* Dublin, *to attend the Juſtices Orders,*

and

and assure them of your readiness to return on a call, they sending a Convoy. Which they promised to do, as occasion required. When I went from you, you thought it necessary that I should take with me, all the poor English *that were saved; and to let them go with the Carts, which were loaden with Wool for* Dublin; *leaving only one of them, who was a Sadler, then my Lord of* Antrim's *Servant. In the Passage near* Rath-Cool, *the Rebels fell upon them, and barbarously killed some, and wounded others: my self and one more escaping by the goodness of our Horses. But a Servant of mine governing the Carts, and being an* English *man they took: And whilst they were preparing to hang him, Sir* John Dungan's *Eldest Son,* Walter Dungan, *came forth of his Fathers House with a Party, and rescued him with the rest of those that were left alive, and brought them safe to* Dublin, *where I was gotten.*

In a few days after, the Marques of Ormond *sent out a Party towards the place where this murder had been committed.*

mitted, I went with them, and coming near, we met Sir Arthur Loftus *Governor of the* Naſſe *with a Party of Horſe and Dragoons, having killed ſuch of the* Iriſh *as they met.*

But the moſt conſiderable Slaughter was in a great ſtrength of Furſe, ſeated on a Hill, where the People of ſeveral Villages (taking the Alarm) had ſheltered themſelves. Now Sir Arthur *having inveſted the Hill, ſet the Furſe on fire on all ſides, where the People being a conſiderable number, were all burnt or killed, Men, Women and Children. I ſaw the Bodies and the Furſe ſtill burning.*

The Sadler that I had left in my Lord of Antrim's *Service ſome time after met me, complaining, that coming for* Dublin *he had been taken by the Rebels, by means of a Boy that Served your Lordſhip, and if I would not give him forty Shillings, being he was damnified (in ſo much) he would complain. I told him, that the Boy he mentioned was no Servant of yours; but kept out of Charity, and to whip the Dogs out of doors: being*

being blind of an Eye, and lame of a Leg. He reply'd, that altho he were blind and lame, he had a Note from my Lord of Antrim *to have him apprehended by those that were neither blind nor lame, which he gave to them, who took him Prisoner, and carried him to the Garison of* Leixlipp, *kept by the Rebels. I bad him do what he pleased: for I would not give him one Farthing.*

The next I heard of it, was, that he had complained; and that your Lordship was Indicted of High Treason. Upon which I made my addresses to the Lords Justices again, to let them know, that they had not kept their Words with me, in suffering this Clandestine Proceeding against my Brother; but however, I would go and fetch you; and to that purpose desired them to let me have a Party of Horse. But that they refused. I then came down to you with some of my friends, and acquainted you with what had past. You answered, that you knew nothing of it, and went immediately with me to Dublin; *where you addressed your self to my Lord of* Ormond,

Ormond, *as I did my self in your behalf to the Lords Justices and Council, to acquaint them that you were come. They reply'd, that they could say nothing to it, till you appeared before them. Which you did the next day; and then they Ordered you to come the day following. At which time without calling you in, they committed you to Mr.* Woodcocks *House, one of the Sheriffs of* Dublin. *Now I seeing this rigorous usage towards you, with such bloody doings on all sides, and having been refused a Pass for my self to go for* England, *made a shift to get away in a small Boat, and go directly to the King at* York, *and Petition him that you might be sent for over to be Tryed here by your Peers. But his Majesties Answer was, that he had left all the Affairs of* Ireland *to the Parliament. Upon which I went to* London, *and Petitioned the Parliament to the same effect. Their answer was, that they could do nothing without the King; of which I gave you an account by Letter. This was the last Correspondence I had with you, being*

after that continually ſerving his Majeſty in England. *But the King coming from* Newark *to* Oxford, *he ſent me with Diſpatches to my Lord Leiutenant, and ordered me to go to you, and uſe my endeavours to perſwade you to haſten a Peace. You received the Commiſſion as very agreeable, ſaying, that from the beginning of the War you had always laboured for a Peace, and that you hoped it would ſoon be done. Before I returned, I ſaw it Proclaimed: and it goes by the name of the Peace of Forty Six.*

London, *July* 6. 1683.

Thus you have ſeen by my Brother's Letter, how, and upon what account I was made a Priſoner, by the Lords Juſtices, and no hopes left me of any relief from either King or Parliament of *England*; But was after twenty weeks Impriſonment, ordered to be removed from the Sheriff's Houſe to the Caſtle: This ſtartled

led me a little, and brought into my thoughts the Proceedings againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, who confiding in his own Innocence, was voted out of his Life, by an unpreſidented Bill of *Attainder*. Beſides, I heard nothing almoſt whilſt I was in Priſon but rejoycings at the Kings Misfortunes, and the ill ſucceſs of his Arms then engaged in actual War with his Rebellious Subjects in *England*. The Lords Juſtices, and moſt of the Council, were too plainly of the Parliament Faction, and the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, whom I knew moſt faithful to the King, fell deſperately ſick of a Fever, not without ſome ſuſpicion of Poiſon, and was then given over by his Phyſicians. Hereupon I weighed well my own Circumſtances, and concluding that Innocence was a ſcurvy Plea in an angry time, I reſolved to attempt an Eſcape, and ſave my ſelf in the *Iriſh* Quarters; which I effected in this manner.

After the Battel of *Kilbruſh*, there was one *George Ledwidge*, an *Iriſh* Trooper of the Marqueſs of *Ormond*'s Army left wounded at my Houſe; who being recovered (in acknowledgment of kindneſs received) often viſited me in Priſon. I found ſo much fidelity in the man towards me, that I truſted him with my Deſign, and deſired his aſſiſtance. The Trooper overjoyed to hear I had that confidence in him, declared he was ready to venture his own life to ſave mine, and would value no danger to free me from that reſtraint. With this, Immediately I gave him money to buy me three Horſes, for my ſelf, and two Servants with Saddles and Piſtols, and ordered him to have them ready at a certain place, againſt next morning This he punctually performed, and the night following, juſt as the maid was to ſhut the door, it being ſomewhat dark, I ſlipt into the Street, leaving my two men in the Houſe, and appointing them where they ſhould

ſhould find me in the morning. About nine of the Clock they came out of the Houſe, and bid the maid make no noiſe, pretending I was not well, and had not reſted that night. They no ſooner came to me, The Guards of the Town withdrawn, and the Patrolles come in, but I ſent them before with the Troopers ſon to get our Horſes ready; the Trooper and my ſelf ſoon following; but I, as his man carrying a Saddle under my Arm. To be ſhort, we mounted all on Horſeback, Marched as Troopers, careleſly out of Town, and took our way by *Temple-oag*, through the Mountains of *Wicklow*, towards *Kilkenny*. But before Dinner my eſcape was diſcovered by the People of the Houſe, and on notice given to the Lords Juſtices, I was purſued by a Party of Horſe, taking their way to my Houſe, at *Maddingſtown*. In the night they inveſted it, but not finding me (after they poſſeſſed themſelves of what they could find) they killed many of my Servants and

burnt my Houſe; This I ſaw as I paſſed by, and had notice by the way, that *Caſtle-haven* alſo was ſeized by the *Engliſh*, and all I had there pillaged, and deſtroyed.

On my arrival at *Kilkenny*, I found the Town very full, and many of my Acquaintance, all preparing for War. To this end they had choſen amongſt themſelves, out of the moſt eminent Perſons, a Council, to which they gave the Title of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*, and formed an Oath of *Aſſociation*, by which all were bound to obey them. They had made four Generals for the Reſpective Provinces of the Kingdom; *Preſton* of *Leinſter*, *Barry* of *Munſter*, *Owen Roe ONeale* of *Ulſter*, and one *Burke* of *Connaught*; and being to give Commiſſions, they cauſed a Seal to be made, which they called the Seal of the Council.

I was ſent for to this Council, to tell my ſtory, where I gave them a particular account of my Adventures;

tures; and being asked what I intended to do, I answered, to get into *France*, and from thence into *England*. Hereupon they told me their Condition, and what they were doing for their preservation, and natural defence, seeing no distinction made, or safety, but in Arms; perswading me to stay with them, being I was beloved in the Country, had three Sisters married amongst them, was persecuted on the same score they were, and ruined so, that we had no more to lose, but our lives. I took two or three days to think of this Proposition, and to examine the *Model of Government* they had prepared against the meeting of the General Assembly, and most particularly their Oath of *Association* which was as followeth,

The Oath of Aſſociation.

I A, B. *Do Profeſs, Swear, and Proteſt before God, and his Saints, and his Angels, that I will, during my life, bear true Faith and Allegiance to my Sovereign Lord* Charles *by the Grace of God, King of Great* Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *and to his Heirs and Lawful Succeſſors: and that I will to my Power, during my Life, defend, uphold, and maintain, all his and their juſt Prerogatives, Eſtates and Rights, the Power and Priviledge of the Parliament of this Realm, the Fundamental Laws of* Ireland, *the free exerciſe of the* Roman-Catholick *Faith, and Religion, throughout this Land, and the Lives, juſt Liberties, Poſſeſſions, Eſtates, and Rights of all thoſe that have taken, or ſhall take this Oath, and perform the Contents thereof: and that I will Obey and Ratifie, all the Orders and Decrees made, and to be made, by the* Supream Council, *of the* Confederate

rate Catholicks *of this Kingdom, concerning the ſaid Publick Cauſe: and that I will not ſeek directly or indirectly, any Pardon or Protection, for any Act done, or to be done touching this General Cauſe, without the Conſent of the* Major *part of the ſaid Council: and that I will not directly or indirectly do any Act or Acts; that ſhall prejudice the ſaid Cauſe; but will to the hazard of my Life, and Eſtate, Aſſiſt, Proſecute, and Maintain the ſame.*

Moreover I do farther Swear, that I will not accept of, or ſubmit unto, any Peace, made or to be made, with the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, *without the Conſent and Approbation of the* General Aſſembly *of the ſaid* Confederate Catholicks. *And, for the preſervation and ſtrengthening of the* Aſſociation, *and Union of the Kingdom, that upon any Peace, or accommodation to be made, or concluded with the ſaid* Confederate Catholicks, *as aforeſaid, I will, to the utmoſt of my Power inſiſt upon and maintain, the enſuing Propoſitions, until a Peace as aforeſaid be made,*

and

and the matters to be agreed upon in the Articles of Peace, be Eſtabliſhed and ſecured by Parliament.

So help me God, and his Holy Goſpel.

Having ſpent ſome time on theſe thoughts, and at laſt taken my reſolution, I returned to the Supreme Council, thanked them for their good Opinion of me, and engaged my ſelf to run a Fortune with them. Whether Anger and Revenge, did not incline me to it, as much as any thing elſe, I cannot certainly reſolve. This I well remember, that I conſidered how I had been uſed, and ſeen my Houſe burning as I paſſed by; beſides, that I was a light man, with no Charge, and without any hopes of redreſs from the King, who was then ingaged in an Inteſtine War. Now being thus a Confederate, and having taken the Oath of *Aſſociation*, they made me one of the Council, and General of the Horſe, under *Preſton*. The

The first Assembly met the 24th of of *October*, 1542. It differed little from a Parliament, but that the Lords and Commons sate together. They approved without delay all the Council had done, and setled a *Model of Government*, *viz.* That at the end of every General Assembly, the *Supreme Council* should be confirmed or changed, as they thought fit. That it should consist of twentyfive, six out of each Province, three of the six still resident, the 25th was my self, with no relation to any Province, but to the Kingdom in General. Every Province had a Provincial Assembly, which met on occasions: and each County had Commissioners for Applotting Money within themselves, as it came to their shares, on the General Applotment of the Province. Many other things there were as to Government, but these are the most remarkable.

The General Assembly being ended, the Supreme Council sent Envoys to the King of *France*, Mr. *Rotchford*, and

and after him, Mr. *Geoffery Barron*: To the King of *Spain*, F. *James Talbott*, an *Auguſtine Fryar*: To the Pope, Firſt Mr. *Richard Belling*, after him the Biſhop of *Ferns*, and Mr. *Nicholas Plunkett*. Beſides theſe they had Reſidents with all theſe Princes, but they were generally Churchmen. The King of *France* firſt ſent them in return Mr. *La Monarie*, to whom ſucceeded Mr. *Du Moulin*, and after him M. *Talloon*. The King of *Spain* firſt ſent M. *Fuyſott* a *Burgundian*, to whom ſucceeded the Count of *Beerhaven*, after him *Don Diego de los Torres*. The Pope ſent one *Starampo* Prieſt of the *Oratorian* Order, who remained till the coming of *Rinuccini* Arch-Biſhop and Prince of *Fermo*, in quality of Nuncio. All this while the Generals were not idle, & mine took in *Burras*, *Fertfaulkland*, and *Byrrh*, in the Kings County; where I was with him, and had the good fortune to begin my Command in the Army, with an Act of Charity; for going to ſee this Garriſon of *Byrrh*, before it Marched out,

out, I came into a great Room, where I found many People of Quality both men and women.

They no ſooner ſaw me, but with Tears in their Eyes they fell on their Knees, deſiring me to ſave their Lives. I was aſtoniſhed at their poſture, and petition, and having made them riſe, asked what the matter was? they anſwered, that from the firſt day of the War, there had been continual action and bloodſhed between them and their *Iriſh* Neighbours, and little Quarter on either ſide; and therefore underſtanding, that I was an *Engliſh* man, begged I would take them into my Protection. I knew there was two much reaſon for their Fears, conſidering they were to March two or three days through the woods of *Iregan*, and waſt Countrys, before they came to *Athy*, their next Friend-Garriſon. I went therefore to the General immediately, and got to be Commander of their Convoy, and to make ſure I called out 300. Foot, and 200. Horſe, in whom

I had moſt Confidence, and carried off the people, who were at the leaſt 800. Men, Women and Children, and though ſometimes attaqued I delivered them with their Baggage ſafe to their Friends. Our next undertaking was on the 5th of *October*, 1642. Col. *Muncke*, ſince made Duke of *Albermarle*, having relieved *Ballniekill* a Caſtle in the Queens Country, General *Preſton* overtook him near *Timachoo* in his retreat, and preſſed him ſo, that he was forced to fight. In number they were pretty equal, about 1500 Horſe and Foot each, without Cannon: but the buſineſs was ſoon over, and not many killed before we were routed: and had the Enemy purſued, it being a plain Country, and no Garriſon near, we had certainly loſt moſt of our Foot. This Check made us pretty quiet till towards the Spring following; then the Marqueſs of *Ormond* Lieut. General of the *Engliſh*, Marched from *Dublin*, in the Head of 3000 Horſe and Foot, and ſome Cannon, and coming through the

the County of *Wexford* Beſieged *Roſs*, a conſiderable Town ſeated on the River *Barrow*. To relieve this Place, General *Preſton* haſtned with an Army of 5 or 6000 Horſe and Foot, but no Cannon; and having ſent 1500 Men Commanded by Leiut. General *Purcell*, into the Town, he Marched himſelf to *Temple-Wodigan* about two Miles from *Roſs*, the Principal Paſs by which the Marq. of *Ormond* muſt retreat, if he raiſed his Siege; as he did ſoon after the Succour got in; and finding *Preſton* before him in Battle, knew not well what to do, being in an Enemies Country, and ſcant of Proviſions. The Paſs was at leaſt half a mile through a Bogg, where no more than four Horſe could march in a Breaſt, with water in ſome places up to the Belly. But *Preſton* had not the Patience to expect the Enemies coming to him, which they muſt do or ſtarve, but went over this Paſs to them, and put himſelf under as great diſadvantage as his Enemy could wiſh. The Marqueſs of *Or-*

mond

mond took hold of this unexpected advantage, and gave *Preſton* no time to form his Army into Battel, but Charged ſtill as they went over, beſides what he did all along with his Cannon; till at length after a conſiderable loſs of men, killed and taken Priſoners, we were wholly routed and defeated. This goes by the name of the Battel of *Roſs* fought, *March*, 18. 1642.

The Marqueſs being returned to *Dublin*, Jealouſies and diſcontents broke out between him and ſome great ones there, which gave *Preſton* leiſure to raiſe another Army, and Beſiege the aforeſaid *Ballynekill*; where having Intelligence that Col. *Crawford* was Beſieging *Ballybrittas*, a Caſtle belonging to the Viſcount *Clanmaleer*, He ſent me with a Party of 1500 Horſe and Foot to relieve the Place; whereupon *Crawford* drawing off, in the Paſſing the River *Barrow* had his thigh broken in a Skirmiſh with a Musket ſhot. I returned as *Ballynekill* was Surrendred, and

and conveyed that Garrison too, as I had done the other at *Birrh*, safe to their Friends.

After this I remained at *Kilkenny* with the Supream Council, and *Preston* with his Army went into *Westmeath*: of whose absence the Enemies Garrisons in the County of *Catharloe* and *Queens* County taking advantage, they Alarm'd the County of *Kilkenny* to the very Gates of the City. To oppose these, I was commanded by the Council to gather what Forces I could, to Succour and secure the Country. I quickly got together about 2000 men, with some pieces of Cannon; and though the Enemy retired, yet I Marched on to *Ballenurry* in the County of *Catharloe*, and took both that and *Clahgrenan*; where the County of *Wexford* Regiment mutinied, but were soon reduced, and some examples made, serve well for the future. I marched thence to the *Queens* County, and Besieged *Ballihenan* Commanded by the *Grimes's* a valiant People with a strong Garri-

 son.

on. But a great Breach being made, when we expected they would Surrender, word was brought us there was a ſtrong Party coming by the way of *Athy* to relieve them. I was not well at the time of this Alarm, but lay upon my Bed in my Tent; yet I made no great matter of it, knowing the Succour could not be conſiderable. But the Viſcount *Mountgarret* being abroad, he ſent me word they were coming on in great haſte, and ſtronger than I thought, both in Horſe and Foot, and were then near the end of the *Tougher*; which was a great way cut through a Bog, and I believe about half a Mile in length. Now I had a ſtrong Guard of Horſe and Foot at my end of the *Tougher* with a Line thrown up before them; ſo that I judged the danger was not great; however, I got on horſe-back with 400 Horſe, and as I came to my Guards, ſeeing ſome of the Enemy on the *Tougher* in their March towards us, I commanded them to follow me to meet the Enemy, thinking to have fought

fought them upon the *Tougher*; but they ſeeing us advanced, retired, and (while I was paſſing the *Tougher*) formed on a Plain two Muſquet ſhot off; but when they perceived I was preparing to Charge, they drew off again, and did not ſtand me till they had got through a Gap in a Ditch with Water up to the belly; which having paſſed, they lined the Ditch with Muſquetteers, drawing up their Horſe and Foot cloſe by to defend the Gap. Sir *Walter Butler* with his Squadron begun the Fight; but he being wounded in the Ditch with a Pike through his Thigh, his men fell off, and a ſecond Squadron Charged, and did the like. But the Enemy ſeeing more Squadrons coming on, they took their advantage in the Smoak to run away, which we could not ſee till the Smoak was over. Then we followed but could not engage them till they recovered *Athy*, which was not far off. I gueſſed them to have been about 300 Horſe and about 7 or 800 Foot. Their Succour

being thus beaten in their view, the Beſieged Garriſon yielded on condition to march out with their Arms. While this Place was putting in Order I went with a Party of Horſe to *Baleadams* a Caſtle about a Mile diſtant belonging to Sir *John Bowen* Provoſt-Marſhal, an old Soldier, and my long acquaintance. I ſent to ſpeak with him, and after ſome kind expreſſions, told him, I muſt put a Garriſon into his Caſtle. He flatly denied me, and calling for his wife and two very fair daughters he had, deſired only one favour, that in caſe I was reſolved to uſe violence, I would ſhew him where I intended to plant my Guns, and make my Breach. I ſatisfied his Curioſity, and asked him what he meant by this queſtion? becauſe (ſaith he) ſwearing with ſome warmth, I will cover that part or any other your Lordſhip ſhoots at, by hanging out both my Daughters in Chairs. 'Tis true the place was not of much Importance, however this Conceit ſaved it. All this while my

Ld.

Ld. *Inchiquin* was Maſter of the Field in *Munſter*, having won ſome Battels, beaten the *Iriſh* in all parts, and in a manner ſubdued the whole Province to four or five Towns; and with theſe two he was now going to work, beginning with *Killmalocke* in the County of *Limerick*, having ſet down before it with an Army of 7000 men. This Alarm'd the General Aſſembly then ſitting at *Killkenny*, but moſt particularly thoſe of that Province, who after many Conſults among themſelves, concluded at laſt, to ask ſuccour of the General Aſſembly, though they ſaw but little hopes of any in that Exigency, for *Preſton* was far off with the Army. Wherefore opening themſelves more clearly than perhaps they would have otherwiſe done, they laid claim to me, as having my Earldom and Eſtate in their Province, though I was an Officer of *Leinſter*: Alledging further, that their General was old and unfortunate, and that if I had the Command all would joyn in the

defence of their Country, and take new Courage. I was preſent at this Propoſition, and though I had Ambition and Vanity enough, yet having no proſpect of Succeſs I thanked them for their good Opinion of me, but heartily oppoſed their motion. But my Lord *Muskry* ſince made Earl of *Clancarty* (my great friend and of that Province) deſired the Aſſembly to command me by virtue of the Oath of Aſſociation. This they did, and ordered that my Commiſſion (under the Seal of the Confederates to Command in Chief for that Expedition) ſhould be immediately diſpatched. I ſubmitted, and being asked what Troops were near at hand, I anſwered, I knew of none, but of my own Life-Guard of Horſe, 'tis true, I had obſerved many ſtragling Horſe in Town, but they would not be brought together without Money. Some money was then given out, and by ten of the Clock the next morning I had engaged about eighty Horſe, and put them under the Command of *Garret Talbott*, Brother to

Sir

Sir *Robert Talbott*: Theſe with my Life-Guard Commanded by Captain *Fitzgerald*, commonly called *Garret Garrough*, made in all 120 Horſe, and with them I marched, accompanied with my L. *Muskry* and ſome others of the Province, to the Frontiers of *Munſter*, where I met about 120. Horſe more, moſt Gentlemen, and formed into a Squadron. But at *Caſhel* I was received by the General of the Province *Barry*, the Lieut. General *Purcell*, and ſome other Officers with 700 Foot. That night I had intelligence, that the Lord of *Inchiquin* had raiſed his Siege, and Marched with 4 or 5000 men into the County of *Kerry*, but had ſent Sir *Charles Vavaſor* with 16 or 1700 Horſe and Foot to take in *Clohlea*, a Caſtle then belonging to the *Condons*; I marched immediately towards him, and before night Encamped within three Miles of him, a Mountain only between us. My Brother *Richard Butler* of *Kilteaſh*, Brother to the now Duke of *Ormond*, was ſent out the ſame night to diſcover the Enemy, and in the Mor-

ning word was brought us, that the Caſtle was taken, the Garriſon after Quarter given put to the Sword, and my Brother Engaged. On this, I loſt no time, but Marched in all haſte with my Horſe to his Succour: which joyned with his made but 240. or 250. at the moſt. The Foot Marched after, but the old General moved ſo ſlowly, that I had defeated the Enemy before he came within two Miles of the Place. The manner thus:

Sir *Charles Vavaſor*, though he had taken the Caſtle, remained ſtill in his Camp, till ſeeing me on the top of the Mountain above him, come to ſuccour mine that were Skirmiſhing, he drew to Arms; but being amongſt Hedges and Ditches, and the Caſtle between us, I could not come at him, till he Marched towards *Caſtle-Lyons*; where in a large Plain he drew up his Men: but I going by the advantage of a great Valley, came into the Plain unſeen, almoſt as ſoon as he; and having ordered three or four Squadrons of Boys on Horſe-back to poſſeſs the Ground from whence I came,

came, I loſt no time in the Charge and quickly defeated his Horſe, who to ſave themſelves, broke in on the Foot and put them into diſorder; Their Cannons were uſeleſs being paſt the Black-water. This with God's bleſſing and a great ſhower of Rain gave me the Victory, with little or no loſs. Sir *Charles*, that Commanded, with ſeveral other Officers, remained Priſoners; their Cannon and Baggage taken, all their Foot defeated; but their Horſe for the moſt part eſcaped. This hapned on a Sunday, the fourth of *June*, 1643.

Now having left the beſt advice I could for the improving this advantage, I took leave of the General, with others of the Province, and returning to *Kilkenny* gave the Aſſembly an account of what had paſſed, in order to their further Commands.

Soon after, the Aſſembly being broke up, and a Supreme Council Choſen to Govern in their abſence, I return'd to *Kilcae* (my Brother *Butler*'s Houſe) to reſt my ſelf. The Council went to *Roſs*; and whilſt they

they were there, a Trumpet brought them a Letter from the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, ſetting forth his being appointed by the King to hear our Grievances, and to treat for an accommodation. The Trumpet was quickly diſpatched, with ſome ſlight Anſwer; which coming to my knowledge, I repaired to *Kilkenny*, whither the Council was returned; and on information finding what I had heard was true, I ſent for Sr. *Robert Talbott*, Sr. *Richard Barnwell*, Col. *Walter Bagnall*, and ſuch others as were in the Town well affected, and leading men in the Aſſembly, though not of the Council, and having acquainted them with what I underſtood, I told them if they would ſtick to me, I would endeavour to give it a turn. We all agreed on the way, which was to go to the Council then ſitting, to take notice of the Kings Offer, and their Return, and to mind them, that the Conſideration and Reſolutions concerning Peace and War, the General Aſſembly Reſerved

ſerved wholly to themſelves; and therefore to require that they would ſend immediately a Trumpet of their own, with a Letter to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, giving him to underſtand they had iſſued Summons for a General Aſſembly, in order to acknowledge the Kings gracious favour in naming him his Commiſſioner to hear and redreſs our Grievances. This we put in execution and gained our point without much Reſiſtance.

The Marqueſs of *Ormond* being thus brought into a Treaty, the Confederate Commiſſioners met at *Siginſtown* near the *Naſſe*, as his Excellency had appointed, in order to a Ceſſation of Arms. At which time all Parties laboured to get what they could into their Poſſeſſion. Col. *Moncke*, after made Duke of *Albemarle*, Marched into the County of *Wicklow* to take in the Harveſt, and poſſeſs ſome Caſtles there. I was Commanded by the Council to make head againſt him, and having Rendezvouzed my Troops, conſiſting of about

about 3000 Horſe and Foot, at *Ballinekill* in the County of *Catharloe*, notice was brought me, that Collonel *Moncke* was marched away in all haſt to the Aſſiſtance of the L. *Moore*, then facing *Owen*, *Roe*, *ONeale* near *Portleſter*. Finding therefore now I had nothing to do, I thought it worth my while to indeavour the taking in *Dollarſtown*, *Tully*, *Lacagh*, and other Caſtles in the County of *Kildare* between the Rivers of *Barrow* and *Liffee*. I began with *Dollarſtown*, a Place about a Mile from *Kilcae*, where I had a Garriſon, and Marched from my Camp with three or four hundred Horſe, and about 300 Foot, and coming before the Place in the Evening, (for it was no more than ſix or ſeven Miles) I ſent a Trumpet to the Maſter of the Caſtle Mr. *Dade*, who had been long of my Acquaintance. The Gentleman immediately came to me upon Summons, and I gave him Reaſons why he ſhould put the place into my hands.

He

He conſented. But as the men, appointed to Garriſon the Place, were Marching towards it, one Lieutenant *Burres* who came but that Afternoon from *Athy*, debauched the Soldiers within, and perſwaded them to ſhut the Gates, and bid me defiance. This I ſaw was no fault of the Gentleman, whom I kept with me that night, and lodged at *Kilcae*; but immediately diſpatched an Expreſs to *Kilkenny*, for three good Battering Pieces. Next morning I returned to my Camp at *Ballynekill*, and the day following my Guns being come as far as *Catharloe*, I ſent in the Evening a Party of Horſe and Foot with Orders before day to Inveſt the Place. The morning following I arrived my ſelf with the reſt of my Forces and the Cannon, and without Summoning began to Batter: and having made a Breach, Stormed the Place, and ſet fire to the Gates; but the Gentlemans Wife and ſome others were ſuffered firſt to come out. The reſt, (eſpecially Mr. *Burres* and his Comrades)

rades) ſuffered as they deſerved.

Having Maſtered this Place, in the Evening I diſpatched a Party of Horſe and Foot to Inveſt *Tullygh*, which they did before day. In the morning I arrived my ſelf, and having Planted my Guns Summoned the Place, and had it yielded by Sir *George Wentworth* then Governor, on Condition that both Horſe and Foot might March out with their Baggage.

Having thus taken this Caſtle, and left a Garriſon to ſecure it, I Encamped on a Heath called the *Currogh* of *Kildare*, from whence I Summoned all the Caſtles thereabouts and had them yielded; only whilſt I was thus Encamped Coll. *Chidley Coote* Governor of *Lacach* came to me, and tho he had nothing to ſecure his return, yet on Conditions I let him go, but after appearing before his Place had it according to our Agreement.

This done, I repaſs'd the *Barrow* at *Minſter-Even*, Marched into *Leix*, and took three or four ſmall Places.

But

But as I was going on, I had advice from the Commiſſioners at *Sigiuſtown* that they had on the fifteenth of *September* 1643. concluded a Ceſſation of Arms with the Marqueſs of *Ormond*; to which I ſubmitted.

After this a Treaty went on for a *Peace*, and in a ſhort time all was agreed, except a Conceſſion for Churches and the Splendid Exerciſe of Religion, as in *France* or *Spain*. This was much inſiſted upon by the Confederate Commiſſioners, and as reſolutely refuſed by my Lord of *Ormond*, who alledged that the King (by agreeing to ſuch an Article) might endanger the loſs of his whole Party in *England*; and in truth it would have ſignified little to the Confederates; for their Security chiefly conſiſted in keeping up the King, and having Force enough in their own hands, which would have been ſufficiently left them, tho twenty thouſand of their men had been ſent into *England*, along with the ten thouſand men my Lord of *Ormond*

mond ſent out of *Leinſter* and *Munſter* of the *Engliſh* Troops in thoſe Provinces.

For at this time as all agreed to the Ceſſation, except the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, ſo they would have ſubmitted to any Peace, that ſhould have been concluded between my Lord of *Ormond* and the Confederates; and thus united, the *Scots* and the reſt of the Parliament Party there would have been ſoon forced to a Submiſſion. It was certainly a great Folly, and a prodigious inſtance of blind zeal in the *Iriſh* Clergy to ſtand thus out with the King, after ſuch repeated profeſſions of Loyalty, and ſo many Battels loſt by their Generals in the four Provinces of the Kingdom, who had not all this time won one ſingle Victory from the beginning of the Confederacy, nor any Colour of ſucceſs, but what little advantages I gained, as you have already ſeen.

Beſides, it was very viſible that the *Confederate Iriſh* could ſubſiſt no longer than the War laſted between

the King and Parliament; and if upon any terms the King and they agreed, whether he forced them to a Submiſſion, or was forced to comply with their inſolent demands, as there was no poſſiblity for the *Iriſh* then to hold out, ſo they could not in reaſon expect any mercy from either, but Major General *Monroe* ſome time before arrived in *Ulſter* from *Scotland* with ten thouſand *new Scots*, to whom Sir. *Robert Steward* joyned with five or ſix Thouſand of the *old Scots*, Natives of that Province; and alſo ſome *Engliſh* under the Command of Sir *Awdley Mervin*, Sir *Theophilus Jones*, and others, would not ſubmit to this Ceſſation, but forced General *ONeale* to ſo great Streights (who had been but a little time before Defeated by that Party in the encounter where *Con ONeale* and many others were killed) that in the beginning of Winter, leaving his Troops and *Crejaghts* to ſhift the beſt they could for themſelves, he came to the General Aſ-

ſembly held at *Waterford*; where he ſet forth the lamentable condition of his People, deſiring the aſſiſtance of the other three Provinces, and in the name of his own Province undertaking to joyn to their Forces four thouſand Foot and 400 Horſe; but withal declaring, that otherwiſe he with his Forces and *Crejaghts* ſhould be obliged to ſave themſelves in the other Peovinces; this laſt point of *Owen ONeal's* Speech, (beſides their perſwaſion that the *Scots* would not fail ſoon to follow and viſit them, made the Aſſembly come to a quick concluſion, and agree to ſend ſix thouſand Foot and ſix hundred Horſe out of the other three Provinces. But it coming to the queſtion, who ſhould be the General of this Army, they went to the Election after this manner; the Aſſembly ſitting, thoſe they thought fit to come in competition, they cauſed their names one under another to be written down, and from each, a long line to be drawn; then at the Table

Table where the Clerk ſate, every Member of the *General Aſſembly*, one after another, with a pen puts a daſh on the line of him that he would have to be General; and to the end that none ſhould mark more than once, four or five were choſen out of the Aſſembly, (two of which were Biſhops) being upon their Oath, to overlook this marking. Now contrary to *Owen ONeal's* expectation who had deſigned this Generalſhip for himſelf, by which he would be *Generaliſſimo*, I hapned to be choſen, which *Owen Roe* took extremely to heart, as I have reaſon to believe. However he carried it fairly, and came to congratulate and wiſh me good Succeſs; giving withal great aſſurances of his performance, and readineſs to ſerve me to the utmoſt of his power. Next day a Commiſſion was ſent me with Orders to prepare all things for this Expedition; which I did, and made ſome enquiry into the matter. But the farther I looked into it, the worſe I liked it; for I con-

ſidered I was now to make a War not only in a Country where I had never been, but where we had not ſo much as one City or Walled Town, and the Enemy had many.

That by all intelligence, I found the *Scots* could draw into the Field ſixteen or ſeventeen thouſand men. That if *Owen ONeale* ſhould perform and deal fairly with me, yet all I was to expect, did not exceed ten thouſand Foot and one thouſand Horſe. That having no Towns in *Ulſter*, we ſhould be forced to bring all our Proviſions from the other Provinces where I had my Magazines. That I muſt depend upon *ONeale* for Intelligence, for by ſuch Lights I always guided my ſelf in my former ſmall undertakings. But that which moſt of all troubled me, was, that I did not ſee how I could avoid a Battel if the Enemy had a mind to it; being I was to make an offenſive War. I had alſo this other conſideration to diſcourage me, that altho our Parties had commonly the better, yet our Armies

Armies had alwaies the worſt. This was experimented in ſeveral Battels and Rencounters; and the reaſon thereof was clear and obvious. For moſt of all the great Towns in the Kingdom were the Enemies, and Garriſoned, and of the few we had there was none but *Killkenny* would receive a Gariſon. So that at our leaving the Field in Winter, as the Enemy returned into their Gariſons, where they were with their Officers kept in Diſcipline, ours were diſperſed all over th Kingdom into little Villages and odd Houſes, never ſeeing an Officer till the next Campaigne. And therefore came to their Rendezvouz in the beginning of every Field, like new men half chang'd. And for the Horſe they were ſo haggled out in riding up and down to ſee their Friends, that they ſeemed hardly able to draw their legs after them; and both Horſe and Foot with ruſty Arms not fixed: But how plainly ſoever I ſaw my ill condition, I muſt through as well as I could; yet with-

al resolving to avoid a Battel with all possible means, and seek to make my War by Parties and Surprizes. Now having time enough before the Campaigne, I was commanded by the Supreme Council to march into *Connaught*, to reduce some of our own Party, which had set up for themselves in the County of *Mayo*, and were possessed of *Castle-Carrow* and *Castle-Barr*, the former Commanded by one *Bourke*, the latter by the Lord *Mayo*. I took with me two thousand men, passed the *Shanon* at *Fort-Faulkland*, and by the Marquess of *Clanrickards* permission, marched through his Country. These Castles made little resistance, and being yielded I sent my Party under the Command of Sir *James Dillon* into the County of *Roscomon*, to reduce the *Ormesbyes* and some others, that held Garisons there, and would not submit to the Cessation. When he had done his work (which he had quickly dispatched) he returned into *Leinster*, and lodged the Troops as he

was

was ordered. But I went my ſelf ſtreight to *Killkenny* to put all in order for the next Campaigne; yet ſtill with ſome miſtruſt of *Owen ONeale's* performance. Wherefore I deſired and prevailed with the Council to grant me four hundred Horſe and Dragoons more, in caſe I could raiſe them, as I did, without Charge to the Country.

The firſt Rendezvouz I made in order to this Field, was about Midſummer, 1644. at *Granard* in the County of *Longford*; where I had appointed three thouſand Horſe and Foot, with two or three Field-Pieces, to meet me; intending there to have expected the coming up of the whole Army; which might be in four or five days time; for *ONeale* was near Encamped at *Port-leſter*, and the reſt Marching as Ordered. My Spyes, that met me at this Rendezvouz, and came in haſt, all agreed they had left the Enemy near a certain Mountain threeſcore miles off; that they were ſeventeen thouſand ſtrong with one

and twenty days Provision, no Cannon nor other Baggage, and were ready to March. I thought my self pretty secure for that night; but before day one from *Cavan* (which was but twelve miles distance) assured me he had left the whole Army of the Enemy there, and that their Horse and Dragoons would be with me in the morning. On this advice I packed off as fast as I could, and gained *Port-lester*, having Ordered the rest of the Army to come thither; and at the Instant commanded a Col. with five or six hundred Foot and one hundred Horse to defend the Bridge of *Fienagh*, that I might not be pursued. It was of Stone, and a Castle on our end. I sent with him Shovels, Pickaxes and Spades, with plenty of Amunition. The Enemy according to my intelligence came at Sun-rising into the Camp I had left, and shewed themselves the next day before that Bridge: but my unfortunate Colonel sent over his Horse to Skirmish; and when they were far enough

enough out, on a ſudden the Enemy mingled with them, which was the cauſe our Foot could do nothing, but through fear to kill their own, left Bridge, Caſtle, and all free for the Enemy. However it availed them little, for finding me well Poſted, tho *ONeale* was of another opinion, their Proviſions ſhrunk, and being at leaſt twelve days march from their own Country, they ſtayed not to give me further trouble, but haſtened homewards.

I was now at leiſure to call on General *ONeale* for his 4000. Foot and 400. Horſe, being reſolved to follow the Enemy and try my fortune in *Ulſter* as I was deſigned. He excuſed himſelf, by reaſon of the continual Alarms in his Country, that he could not at preſent make good his word; yet aſſured me, that ſo ſoon as I came into the Province, I ſhould have no reaſon to complain. On this aſſurance, I marched on with my ſix thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe and Dragoons; and *ONeale* joyned

joyned with me about two hundred Horſe, and three or four hundred Foot; his *Crejaghts* marching with us, and drew me on as far as *Toineragaoh*; where having intelligence that the Enemy had revictualled themſelves, and were returning, to encounter me, I preſſed *ONeale* very hard to make good his word; but he plainly told me he could not do it, alledging that his People were all amongſt the *Crejaghts*, and every one looking to ſave what he had. In this ſad condition, I blam'd my own weakneſs, that I was perſwaded with fair promiſes to come ſo far into an Enemies Country, and with ſuch a handful of men, to oppoſe a powerful Army; However I was reſolved to ſee the Enemy, then encamped at *Dromore-Iveagh*; and therefore taking ſuch Guides as *ONeale* would give me, and leaving the Command of the Camp to him, in the Evening I marched with my thouſand Horſe, and Dragoons, and fifteen hundred Foot towards *Dromore*. Theſe I left

on

on a Paſs about three miles from my Camp, to make good my retreat, intending to fall with my Horſe into their Horſe-Quarter. But whether wittingly or willingly in my Guides, it was Sun-riſing when I came within two miles of their Horſe-Quarters. Nevertheleſs, tho I loſt my Deſign, yet ſtill I was reſolved to ſee my Enemy. And to this end, perceiving ſome of their Horſe at Graſs, I drew up my men under a Hill, near a little River, where there was a ſtone Bridge, and ſent a Party to take thoſe Horſes; which they did, and brought them to me. But the Enemies Guard of Horſe being near, after my Horſe were come back ſeized the Bridge and defended it. I ſent men to beat them off; but it would not do; then I ſent another Party; the ſame ſtill: during this diſpute, I perceived a Party of Foot coming over a great Plain; then I galloped down my ſelf, with ſome Officers, and more Horſe, and forcing the Bridge, I had the cutting of that Party of Foot, and took their Com-

Commander, Captain *Blare* Priſoner: Whilſt this was doing a party of mine purſued the Horſe that ran from the Bridge; but before they overtook them, they were met with another, which routed them, and others of mine put them alſo to run. In ſhort, before this Bickering ended, moſt of the Horſe on both ſides were engaged; the Enemy at laſt drew off and ſo did I to my Army. Being returned to my Camp, I acquainted *ONeale* with what had paſt: and how the Enemies Army were advancing, according to my intelligence. Whereupon he adviſed me to retire to *Charlemont*, a Fort where he had a Gariſon. I followed his advice, and found it a very good Poſt, there being a very large plain joyned to it, on the one ſide runs the *Black-Water*, and near the Fort a Bridge over it, the reſt ſurrounded with Boggs and Mooriſh Grounds. My Horſe lay Encamped at *Benboarb*, on the other ſide of the River. At the ſame time that I came into this place, *Manroe*, with his Army

my arrived at *Ardmagh*, about two or three miles distant, and there encamped and fortified himself. Thus neither of us being able to engage the other, we lay in a pretty good Correspondence, and the small War we had was chiefly in cutting Parties and Convoys. During this idle time I went often to see my Horse-Quarters, and being one day merry with the Officers, several Soldiers came about us, and in a pleasant way I asked them what they would give to come to a days work with the Enemy? they answered, they would be glad of it if their doublets and skins could be made proof against the Launces of the *Scots*, of which they had many Squadrons. Having found this apprehension, I passed off the discourse, and that night dispatched an Express to *Wexford*, where I had a Magazine, to bring me thence so many defensive Arms as might cover two Ranks of my Horse; which being come, and every day finding more difficulties I resolved to march away;

for

for my Proviſion came much harder to me than the Enemies did to them; and *ONeale* began to be very weary of ſometimes aſſiſting me with Cowes; ſo that after two Months I reſolved the endeavouring to gain my own Country, ſeeing no hopes of any Forces from *ONeale*. Which to effect (for I did not deſire fighting) I cauſed a *Tougher* or great way to be cut through the Bogg near the Fort, leading to *Toineragaoh*, by which the Enemies Proviſions came. Having finiſhed this way, and knowing their days, I took time to paſs over moſt of my Horſe and ſome Foot, ſhewing them beyond the *Tougher* as if that night I intended ſtreight for *Toineragaoh*, paſſed over the Bridge with the whole Army, leaving my Cannon and Baggage in the Fort with a ſtrong Gariſon, plenty of Ammunition, and all the Proviſion I could poſſibly ſcrape to put in. That night I marched, and all the next day, taking a great Round before I could have my own County on

on my back, which having obtained in the County of *Cavan*, I faced towards the Enemy, about five or six miles from them; which *Monroe* underſtanding, and finding I lay eaſier for my Proviſions than he did for his, raiſed his Camp, and Marched home. It being now late in the year, and *Monroe* retired, I ſent a Party of Horſe and Foot to bring off my Cannon and what I left in the Fort of *Charlemont*, and ſo marched to *Fineagh*; where I met Commiſſioners from the *Supreme Council* to receive the Army, and lodge them on the three Provinces, together with fifteen hundred *Ulſter* Men, who on my orders came to me out of *Connaught*, being of no Army, but endeavouring to live by ſtrong hand, which I could not admit. Thus ended the *Ulſter* Expedition, like to be ſo fatal to the *Confederate Catholicks of Ireland* thro the failing or ſomething elſe of General *Owen Roe ONeale*. But after all, the three Provinces had no reaſon to complain of this Campaigne, for this

Army

Army they ſent kept them from being troubled either with *Scots* or *Ulſter* People that year.

Having thus left the Army with Commiſſioners, on Muſter above eight thouſand ſtrong, (for I had been recruited with ſeveral Companies) I took my way to *Kilkenny*, ill pleaſed that the *Treaty* of *Peace* trained ſo long; and deſigned not to ſtir from the Council till I ſaw it concluded. But coming there, I found the *Supreme Council* in great conſternation; for the Lord *Deſmond* Governor of *Duncannon*, which commanded the Harbor of *Waterford*, was Declared for the Parliament; as alſo my Lord *Inchiquin* in *Munſter*, who before had not only ſubmitted to the Ceſſation, but ſent a conſiderable number of his Troops, and himſelf followed ſoon after into *England* to ſerve the King, where having ſome diſguſt, as 'tis ſaid, becauſe the Reſidency of *Munſter* was given to the Earl of *Portland*, he returns and declares for the Parliament, commanding

ing by their Commiſſion as Preſident of *Munſter*. Theſe of *Waterford* eſpecially preſſed the taking of *Duncannon*, making great offers to the Council of large Aſſiſtance: *Preſton* is named for this work, it being within his Province, and is ſent thither with three or four thouſand Men, Miners, and a good train of Artillery. I had the curioſity to ſee this Siege, and will relate the particulars, becauſe the only in form I ſaw in *Ireland*. He made no line of Circumvallation, fearing no Succour that could come on the land-ſide; but began his approaches with two Attacks, and being come near the place joyned them with a Line of Communication; and then ran them on, divided, to the Ditch before the Rampier; for it had no Counterſcarpe or Baſtions, but was fortified in reddant: Thoſe within made a good defence and loſt nothing in ſix weeks, only the Beſiegers had made a Lodging on the edge of the Ditch. At this time two or three Parliament Frigats ar-

rived with ſuccour of men, Ammunition and Proviſions, and came to Anchor within leſs than Cannon-ſhot of the Fort. But before they could Man out their Boats, ſo terrible a Storm aroſe, that in eight or ten days none could come aſhore. Whereupon thoſe within being in deſpair, and preſſed with want, were forced to yield.

All this while my Lord *Inchiquin* overran *Munſter*, and coming to *Caſhell* the People retired to the Rock where the Cathedral Church ſtands, and thought to defend it. But 'twas carried by Storm, and the Soldiers gave no Quarter; ſo that within and without the Church, there was a great Maſſacre, and amongſt others more than twenty Prieſts and Religious men killed. Towards the Spring the *Supream Council* ordered me to go againſt *Inchiquin*, and to begin the Field as early as I could. The Enemy in this Province had always been victorious, beating the Confederates in every Encounter, having never

never received any Check but in that I mentioned at *Cloghleagh*: So that every Gentlemans Houſe or Caſtle was Gariſoned, and kept the Country in awe. To begin therefore this Field, I made my firſt Rendezvouz at *Clonmell*, and the Army Encamped not far from it. Thither came *Dean Boyle*, now *Lord Chancellor of Ireland*, and then married to my Lord *Inchiquin*'s Siſter, his buſineſs was to perſwade me to ſpare *Doneraile*, and other Houſes and Caſtles not tenable. I anſwered, that I deſired it as much as he, tho hitherto they had annoyed the Country, equally, as if they had been ſtrong. I told him in ſhort, I had orders to take all I could, and ſuch as I thought not fit to Gariſon, to Deſtroy; yet if he pleaſed to cauſe the Gariſons to be drawn out, and by Letters from the owners to put them into my hands; I would appoint ſome few men unto them with Commanders, in whom I moſt confided, and would make it my buſineſs to intercede to the Council to preſerve them.

The *Dean* and I parted good friends. But whether he could prevail or no, with my Lord *Inchiquin* or the Owners, I know not; but I heard no more from him.

Soon after, that is about the fifth of *April* 1645. I marched towards *Caperquin*, my Army consisting of about 5000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, with some Cannons; and having viewed the place, I soon perceived where they mistook, that besieged it the year before, and after much time spent with great loss of men, were forced to quit it: There being a Town and a Castle that commanded it, they attackt the Town, and I the contrary, the Castle; which yielded; the Town could not resist; *Dromane* fell likewise into my hands. Whilst I was ordering these places, a Trumpet came to me, from the Lord *Broghill*, since made Earl of *Orrery*, to let me know that he was on the great *Coney-warren* near *Lismore*, where he should be glad to see me. The Trumpet pressed my answer,

ſwer, but I kept him with me, and immediately marched towards my Lord; but upon my coming near he drew off, and marched away.

From thence I wrote a Letter to the Commander of *Liſmore*, a houſe of my Lord of *Cork's*, I think one *Major Poor*. I endeavoured to perſwade him to put that place into my hands, and gave him many reaſons, why I deſired its preſervation, as if it were my own. But he anſwered that his Honour was above all; that he would hold it to the laſt, and doubted not of timely Succour; ſo I left Major *Poor*, and Marched to *Michaelſtowne*, which after ſome ſhot of Cannon was ſurrendred. Then having intelligence that 6 or 700 Horſes were come over the *Black-water*, marching towards me, and at that time drawn up on a Hill in the great plain of *Roches* Country; I marched with the Army towards them, not knowing that my Lord *Inchiquin* might not be near with his Forces. But theſe Horſe, when we were well in ſight retired,

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whereupon Leiut. Gen. *Purcell* (with ſeveral other Officers and Gentlemen of the Country) who had been viewing them at near hand, came Galloping to me, ſaying that the Enemies were packing away, and preſs'd me to let him have my Horſe; for they had them ſo ſure, that they could not poſſibly eſcape. I made ſome difficulty of the matter, but they ſaid it was becauſe I knew not the Country; yet I knew ſo much, that yielding to their deſires, I ſhould be expoſed in a great Champaigne Country with an Army of Foot, and Cannon, without Horſe. Nevertheleſs after all, (which I count certainly amongſt other my Follies) I ſuffered my ſelf to be perſwaded, and they marched away with my Horſe in great haſt. I followed ſlowly, and coming to the *Black-water*, near the Ford of *Fermoy*, drew my Foot and Cannon into an old *Danes* work; *Ireland* being full of them; and having ſtayed there a good while, and hearing no news of my Horſe, I began to be uneaſie. But

remem-

remembring that I had a Guard of Horſe on ſome Beeves, that were for the Proviſion of the Army, I ſent for them, and at the ſame time unexpected came to me *Garret Garrubh*, with my old Life-Guard of Horſe out of *Leinſter*; theſe, and thoſe making in all about one hundred; having firſt ordered 1500 Foot to ſtand in a readineſs, I marched with them to ſee what became of the Troops ſent with *Purcell*; and finding by the Track, that my Horſe had paſſed the Ford, and taken their way towards *Caſtle-Lyons*, I followed. Being come near the top of the Hill above the Ford, I left theſe few I had with me drawn up, and with ſome Officers went my ſelf to a height to diſcover. Thence I ſaw all the Enemy formed in a great Plain with a Shrub wood before them, and my Horſe in haſt marching through to Charge, having with them 100. Commanded Foot. But the Enemy ſeeing the Squadrons broken, as they came on the Plain, gave them no time to

form, but Charged and defeated them. On ſight of this diſorder, and the Enemy purſuing, when they came near me, I advanced, crying out to my own men, that they ſhould rally behind me. The Enemy ſeeing theſe freſh Horſes, and not knowing but the Army might be near, purſued no further, but drew up. The 1500. Foot that I ſent for, ſoon came to me; on ſight of which the Enemy retiring to *Caſtle-Lyons*, I followed; but it being now dusky, could not engage them. Hence I marched to *Malloe*, and took it, but with ſome Shot of Cannon, and left a Gariſon in it. *Donerail* and *Liſcarrol* made no reſiſtance. *Milltowne* ſtood out, ſo that I thought it would coſt ſome trouble. But whilſt the Batteries were preparing, 2 or 3000. Boys belonging to the Army, that uſed to form themſelves into Battalions, having got Crows of Iron, Pickaxes, and other Inſtruments, a little before Sun-ſet, fell on the Place; intending I ſuppoſe only to have taken the

Cows

Cows and Sheep within a Court which was walled: but ſucceſs carried them further; and with the help of ſome Soldiers, they took the Caſtle by ſtrong hand. So all that ſide of the *Black-water* being cleared, I ſent the Army for fifteen days into Quarters of refreſhment, and I went my ſelf to *Killmallocke*, and other places, where I kept my Magazines. In the mean time my Lord *Inchiquin* having taken *Roſtellan*, beſieged *Ballymarter*, a Caſtle belonging to his Uncle, *Edmund Fitzgerald* Seneſchal of *Imokelle*. My Army being come together, I marched to ſuccour it. But there being a flood in the *Black-water*, I was hindred for two days, ſo that when I came in ſight of the place, I found it taken and burning, and the Enemy retreating, ſome to *Corke*, others to *Youghall*.

Having thus loſt my Deſign of ſuccouring *Ballymartir*, and that which I wiſh'd moſt, engaging the Enemy, I ſtay'd two or three days Encamped near this burnt Caſtle, thinking what

to

to do. At length I got intelligence, that Col. *Henry O Bryan* Brother to the Lord *Inchiquin*, and Lieut. Col. *Courtney* with ſeveral other Officers were come by Boat to *Roſtellan*, to make merry; and that the Tide fallen their Boats were aground, and ſo would continue till high water. On the certainty of this I loſt no time, but ſent immediately a party to ſeize the Boats, lying more than a muſquet-ſhot from the Caſtle, following as faſt as I could with the Army. Which being come up, I preſently fell to the work, planted my Guns on the Batteries made by my Lord *Inchiquin*, not yet deſtroyed, and in the morning the place yielded on diſcretion. Hence I marched to *Caſtle-Lyons*, which having after ſome Battery yielded, I advanced towards *Liſmore*. But *Coney-Caſtle* lying on a paſs in my way, and ſending on Summons a Defiance; I encamped before it, thinking to plant my Guns that night; but the Boys eaſed me of that trouble, and before it was dark took it, as they did the former,

former, by ſtorm. Hence I wrote again to the Governor of *Liſmore*, to put that place into my hands, that I might turn the Army another way, having as much kindneſs for the Owner as he could have; but not prevailing, I Inveſted it; and having ordered the Batteries left Leiut. Gen. *Purcell* to Command, and try if he could have better ſucceſs with that place now than when he had formerly Beſieged it; and ſo rode to *Killkenny*, as not willing to be preſent at the deſtruction of a houſe, where I formerly had received many Civilities. At my return five or ſix days after, I found the place yielded, and the Gariſon marching out. After this being encamped at *Tallow*, intelligence was brought me, that Collonel *Mac William Ridgeway* was gone from *Corke* into the County of *Limericke* with a great party of Horſe and ſome Foot. I marched immediately with all my Horſe, and 1500. Foot ſtreight for *Corke*; coming near, I left my Foot to make good my retreat

treat, and about an hour in the night I arrived near the Gates, and put my ſelf on the way to *Malloe*, by which *Mac William* was to return; and gently marching on, we met ſome of the Enemy, whom we Charged, and with little or no oppoſition, killed ſome and took others; but the night being extream dark, we could do no great Execution. In this blind ſcuffle Capt. *James Browne*, brother to Sir *Valentine Browne*, a brave Gentleman was ſlain. By the Priſoners we found that their Commander *Mac William Ridgeway* had been killed that day, ſhot out of a Caſtle in *Roches* Country. Which way they had taken to return with the Body, we could not find. We marched a little forwards; but it being ſo dark, that nothing could be done, I returned with my Party to *Tallow*, and marched the Army towards *Youghall*. All Caſtles on the way ſubmitted on eaſie terms. I will only take notice of one, becauſe of the accident, tho I have forgot

got the name of the place, I remember it was a Caſtle that yielded early in the morning without reſiſtance. Now preſently after it was ſurrendred, the weather being very fair, I went a hunting, leaving Col. *Heneſey* to ſee the Quarter made good, which was to march with their Arms, Bag and Baggage. But the Soldiers having been uſed to take Places by ſtrong hand, and ſo enriching themſelves by Plunder, would have done the like by this, tho it had Conditions. To prevent this Out-rage, the Col. and ſeveral other Officers went into the Caſtle joyning with the Garriſon in its defence. But the Foot nevertheleſs fell on, and great ſhooting there was on all ſides; I wondred what the matter was, and fearing that the Lord *Inchiquin* had attempted ſomething, I returned in great haſt. The Soldiers ſeeing me come ſooner than they expected, ran into the Woods adjoyning. When I came to the Caſtle, and Col. *Heneſey* had related the matter, I made the Garriſon

ſon march out according to their Conditions. Then I began to enquire after my Mutineers, and cauſed the Trumpets to ſound and Drums to beat, for drawing all to their Arms: ſome time it was before theſe Gentlemen could be got together. And having at laſt put both Horſe and Foot in order of Battel, I went from Battalion to Battalion, telling them their fault, and what the conſequence might have been, and concluded that they all merited death. Which they acknowledging, I added that ſome Juſtice muſt be done, and asked them, whether they were content for example-ſake, to deliver two out of each Battalion as it ſhould fall amongſt them by Lots? They agreed; but when they came to be ſhot, I thought the number too great, and made them throw again for two only, which ſuffered.

But to return to our Story; from this Caſtle I marched to *Youghall*, and Encamped looſely before it, thinking to diſtreſs the Place, and towards the Sea near *Crocker's* Works, I ſent Major

Major General *Purcell* with 1500. men, and ſome ſmall Pieces to hinder ſuccour that might come by Sea. Whilſt this was a doing, I went with a Party in the night, and two Pieces of Cannon and paſs'd the *Blackwater* at *Temple Michaell*, and before day had my two Guns planted, at the Ferry point over againſt *Youghall*; and within leſs than Muſquet-ſhot of two Parliament Frigats: at the ſecond ſhot one blew up, but ſome days after the Enemy made a Sally from *Crocker*'s Works, and ill treated Major General *Purcell*, taking one of his Guns.

Now by way of digreſſion, I muſt tell you that about this time, that is Midſummer 1645. arrived in the weſt of *Ireland Renuccini* Arch-Biſhop and Prince of *Fermo*, in quality of *Nuncio* ſent by Pope *Innocent* the tenth, to the Confederate Catholicks, and coming near the Coaſt was chaſed by a Parliament Frigat Commanded by one *Plunckett*; but as he was ready to lay him on Board, to the great miſ-

fortune

fortune of the Confederate Catholicks, and many other good Intereſts, *Plunckett's* Kitchin-Chimney took fire, which to quench he was forced to lye by, and give the *Nuncio* opportunity to gain the Shore.

Soon after this, there came a Fleet of Boats, and bigger Veſſels ſent by my Lord of *Inchiquin* from *Cirke* with Supplies of men and Proviſion, and ſuccoured the Town; on which I marched off, and trifled out the remain of that Campaigne in deſtroying the Harveſt; only a Party of my men attempted to plunder the *great Iſland* near *Barryes Court*; but being ill guided in paſſing, and the Sea coming in ſooner than they counted, their deſign failed. Beſides there were of the Enemy that oppoſed their coming on dry Land, and Capt. *Thurlagh OBryan* was killed by a looſe ſhot out of a Caſtle in the Iſland.

Now it being the latter end of *November*, the Snow falling, I retired to *Caperquin*, and Commiſſioners being come to lay out Winter-Quarters

ters for the Army, I left it and repaired to *Killkenny*, where I found the Council in great debate, and much divided concerning the *Peace*, which their Commiſſioners had fully concluded with my Lord of *Ormond* at *Dublin*, and wanted nothing but to have their Agreements approved by the *Supream Council*. Many days the Diſpute held after my coming to them; and at length, we that were for the Peace, finding our ſelves the greater number, preſſed the putting it to the Vote; on which one of the contrary part, ſeeing it could not be refuſed, propoſed that being we pretended all to be for the King, and differed only in the way of beſt ſerving him, to put us right we ſhould do well to deſire a certain *Engliſh Noble-man* then in Town, and lately come from *England*, to give us his Opinion in the matter, which he did in the afternoon abſolutely againſt the *Peace*, if the *Nuncio* did not approve it; which was not to be hoped for. Thus all our endeavours that

were for it came to nothing, and I for my part immediatly laid down my Commands of *Munſter*, and would act no more.

Many reaſons I had beſides that drove me to deſpair; for tho on the firſt *Ceſſation*, if *Peace* had followed in any reaſonable time, we might probably have kept up the King; yet now the matter was much changed, ſince the coming of the *Nuncio*, and *Inchiquin*'s Revolting with the *Engliſh* Army, and the Towns under his Command from the Kings Authority and declaring for the Parliament. This together with the underhand actings of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, newly come from *England*, gave much trouble to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, in his endeavours for eſtabliſhing the *Peace*. This L. of *Glamorgan*, pretending large Commiſſions from the King, by colour of which he had entred into ſeveral ſecret Treaties with the *Nuncio*'s Party, very contrary to what my Lord Lieutenant had been doing, gave ſuch hopes to the *Confederates*,

derates, that they would give no ear to what the Lord Lieutenant had propoſed. Beſides, the Confederates ſince the arrival of the *Nuncio* had fallen into great Factions and Diviſions, and amongſt others began to renew the fatal diſtinction between the *old Engliſh* and *ancient Iriſh*.

On my quitting the Command of *Munſter*, the Earl of *Glamorgan*, ſince made *Marqueſs of Worceſter*, was choſen in my place, on promiſes that he would contribute out of his own purſe great ſums of Money towards the Service of the Province. In order to this he gave Commiſſions for the Raiſing many new Regiments, giving Winter-Quarters on the Province with promiſe of ſatisfaction: but my Lord *Inchiquin* towards the Spring, ſent along by Sea from *Corke* 500. Foot and 150. Horſemen with Saddles and all ſorts of Arms for Horſe and Foot; and entring the *Shannon* ſeized *Bonratty* in the County of *Clare*; a Caſtle belonging to the Earl of *Thomond*, where they found a brave Stable of

Horſes and Mares, on which he mounted all his Horſemen. The Earl of *Glamorgan*, to keep in this Gariſon, ordered ſome Troops to ſix-mile Bridge between *Limericke* and *Bonratty*, but were beaten by that Gariſon. The Earl, after this Rendezvouz'd his whole Army at *Clomnell*; to which Rendezvouz my Lord of *Muskry* came; and ſome Differences falling out between theſe two Noblemen, my Lord *Muskry* took the Command of the Army to himſelf, and with it Beſieged *Bonratty*. To this Siege the *Supream Council* ſoon followed, the place held out five or ſix weeks; but not two days after, the Attack was changed to the ſide of the mooriſh Land towards the *Shannon*.

I muſt now tell you that the Lord *Inchiquin*, on the certainty of *Bonratty*'s being Beſieged, and the whole Army of *Munſter* engaged, marched into the County of *Limerick*, and having no Paſſage over the River of *Shannon* to go to its Succour, thought by

by Diverſion to oblige my Lord *Muskry* to draw off, by burning, plundring, and deſtroying the Country even to the Gates of *Limerick*.

In this City the *Supream Council* ſate at that time, whither I coming by chance they ſent for me, and having ſufficiently declared to me the ill condition they were in, (for Sir *Charles Coot* was acting in *Connaught* the ſame part that my Lord of *Inchiquin* played in *Munſter*) they deſired my Aſſiſtance, and prayed that I would head ſome Horſe they had appointed to Rendezvouz near *Cloghnotſye*, a Houſe of Sir *Edmond Fitzharris* ſeated in the Mountain that runs between the Counties of *Corke* and *Limerick*. Theſe were but 500. old Horſe commanded by *mac Thomas*, the reſt, which they reckon'd 1500. more, were to conſiſt of Gentlemen and ſuch as they brought with them: I excuſed my ſelf as well as I could, alledging, that ſince my quitting the Command in *Munſter*, I had laid aſide all thoughts of War, and

that I came there as a Paſſenger in my way to ſee the Siege of *Bonratty*, having neither Equipage nor Horſe for Service. But on their promiſes to furniſh me with theſe and other neceſſaries, I was at length overcome by their perſwaſions or rather pity of their Condition. My condeſcention was immediately publiſhed for the encouragement of the Gentry; and the next day I went to the Rendenzvouz, where I found the 500. Horſe with *Mac Thomas*, and as many Gentlemen with their Dependents, as made 500. more, which I immediately formed into Squadrons, and drew againſt my Lord *Inchiquin*, and kept as near him as I durſt; ſo that now he Marched and Encamped pretty cloſe. This laſted four or five days, till at length my Lord *Inchiquin*, finding this Check hindred him from deſtroying the Country, retired to his Gariſons; and I went to the Siege. All this while a Treaty of *Peace* with my Lord of *Ormond* went on, tho much oppoſed by the *Nuncio*

Nuncio and the *National Congregation of the Clergy* gathered by his orders at *Waterford*, where they met the other four Arch-Biſhops, and moſt of the Biſhops and Heads of Religious Orders in the Kingdom. The *Nuncio* and this Congregation went ſo far as to declare the Confederate Commiſſioners treating with my Lord Lieutenant, and all others that ſhould ſubmit unto the Peace in hand, perjur'd and forſworn, threatning them with Thunders of Excommunication in caſe of perſiſting. This with ſome ſecret Conceſſions they had gained from the Earl of *Glamorgan* in favor of their Religion, not diſcovered till found in the Arch-Biſhop of *Tuam's* pocket after he was killed in a fight near *Sligo*, divided the Confederate Catholicks into two Factions, the one called the *Nuncio's*, the other *Ormond's* Party. Yet notwithſtanding, the Treaty went on, and concluded in an agreement called the Peace of 46. which being proclaimed at *Killkenny* the Lord Lieutenant came

thither accompanied with many Noble-men and others beſides 1200. Foot, and 200. Horſe as a Guard. The *Supreme Council* received him with all due reſpect and ſurrendred their Government to him. But this Sun-ſhine laſted not long, when the news was brought that thoſe of *Limerick* had rejected the Peace, declaring for the Pope's *Nuncio*, and affronted the King at Arms, going to Proclaim it; that *Clonmell* ſhut their Gates on the ſame ſcore. General *Owen Roe ONeale* being proud of a late Victory, he had gained over the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, declared alſo for the Popes *Nuncio*. *Preſton*, General of *Leinſter*, being at *Birrh* in the Kings County, looked very cloudily, yet held correſpondence with my Lord Lieutenant, but withal excuſing his attendance on pretence of ſome Indiſpoſition.

The Nuncio now being at *Waterford*, in the head of the mentioned Congregation, and having by his Threats of Excommunications thus broken

broken us, the Lord Lieutenant by advice of the Commiſſioners of Truſt, (which were men named by the Confederates to ſee the Peace obſerved) ſent me to try if I could perſwade the *Nuncio* to let the Peace go on. But all I could do was in vain, he declaring his Reſolution to oppoſe it to the uttermoſt, with other expreſſions relating to Blood, not becoming a Church-man.

Being returned, and having acquainted my Lord Leiutenant with what had paſſed, and ſeeing him ſtill fixed to his deſign of marching into *Munſter*, I was ſomething troubled; and finding Col. *John Barry* a man in much credit with his Excellency at Sir *Lucas Dillon*'s Lodgings, I diſcovered to them my apprehenſions concerning my Lord Lieutenants intended march into *Munſter*; by ſetting forth the malice I found in the Clergy-Party, and how they grew daily ſtronger by the Revolt of Troops and Towns unto them; that *Owen ONeale* was a declared Enemy, and

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at the head of a Victorious Army, and might certainly if we marched further cut our retreat; that my Lords Party for number were not considerable, and that the *Supreme Council* were dissolved on the Proclamation of the *Peace*, and consequently of no Authority to make good the publick Faith; with much more to this effect, concluding the march very dangerous.

They promised to discourse this with my Lord Lieutenant; but whether they did or no, or if they did, whether his Excellency would believe so much falshood to be amongst Men, as was then designing against him, I cannot tell; but in two or three days after, he began his March for *Munster*, and coming to *Carrick*, a House of his own, word was brought him there, that *Mac Thomas* had declared for the *Nuncio*, and was drawn up near *Clomnell* with three or four hundred Horse. I was sent to him by his Excellency, as thinking my Interest might have gained

something

ſomething on him, becauſe he had ſerved moſt of the Wars under my Command. When I came, and delivered him my Meſſage, he anſwered that he was engaged with the *Nuncio* according to his Conſcience, and would not quit him. I acquainted his Excellency with this anſwer, and added, that I ſaw no hopes of reclaiming this man; yet my Lord Leiutenant went on, and took his way towards *Caſhell*; *Mac Thomas* Marching for the moſt part in ſight of us. As we came near the Town, and made ſome halt, his Excellency received advice, I think from my Lord *Dillon*, reſiding at *Aſhlone*, that *ONeale* was marching againſt him with all the Force he could make; whereupon my Lord was pleaſed to call me to him, and telling me his intelligence asked my opinion, what was beſt to be done. I gave it quickly, that he ſhould immediately march back the ſhorteſt way, and indeavour to gain *Laughlin-Bridge*. This he did accordingly, but paſſing near

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Killkenny he ſent his Brother Sir *George Hanbleton* and my ſelf to let the Magiſtrates of that City know what Intelligence he had from all hands; however, if they pleaſed he would come to them, with the Party he had, and venture his Fortune with them. They received the Meſſage with all due reſpect, and anſwered, that if he pleaſed to come to them, they would ſerve him with their Lives and Fortunes, tho they did believe it would be the loſs of him and them together. On our report his Excellency kept on for the gaining of *Laughlin*, where there was a Bridge that croſſed the River *Barroe*, a Fort at the end, on the County of *Catharloe*'s ſide Commanded by Col. *Walter Bagnall*. Having gained this Point, we loſt no time in our March to *Dublin*, where coming near, I think the whole People of the City came forth to meet his Excellency, with as much joy as ever Man was received, having for ſeveral days judged him and his Party loſt. As

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we came into the *Suburbs*, his Excellency honoured me with the carrying of the Sword before him through the City, for which I can give no other Reaſon (beſides his own goodneſs) but that I had been always a promoter of the *Peace*, and the only Man of the Confederate Catholicks, that came with him, and never left him in theſe his Adventures.

The *Nuncio* now thought all his own, Committed to Priſon ſuch of the late *Supreme Council* and others as he called of *Ormonds* Party, and having got his Forces together, Commanded by *ONeale* and *Preſton* as Generals under him, he Marched them in one Army, (tho for their better conveniency they took two different ways) towards *Dublin*; they were noiſed ſo numerous, and ſo Powerful, that in good earneſt the People, Officers, and Soldiers did not know what to make of it, and ſhewed apprehenſion enough. His Excellency perceiving this, as it was too plain, called for me and we diſcourſed

ſcourſed the whole matter. I took the boldneſs to give my Opinion, which was, That this Army of the *Nuncio* could no longer ſubſiſt in any place than they found Proviſions where they came; that neither of theſe Generals had any Magazines during the War; that they undertook this matter in confidence of the plenty they ſhould find in his Quarters; that I thought it was a thing of too great hazard to oppoſe them in the Field, and yet if they were not ſtoped, they would come on, and at leaſt live upon him till they had eaten all; Laſtly, that on conſideration of the whole, I thought it beſt to prevent their coming too near; which could not be done by any other way than by deſtroying the Quarters. His Excellency was of the ſame opinion, and therefore ſent orders immediately to all people within eight miles of the Town to bring in whatever they had, giving them three or four days time for it, and what was found abroad after the time prefixed,

parti-

particularly Forage and Mills, Parties were ordered to burn and deſtroy them. This was all effected before the *Nuncio* and his Army were come to *Killkallin Bridge*. Yet notwithſtanding this diſcouragement they advanced as far as *Leixlipp* and *New-Caſtle*; both which places lying within three miles diſtant one of another, and ſix from *Dublin*; They made their Head Quarters, *Preſton* at *Leixlipp* and *Owen ONeale* at *New Caſtle*, the *Nuncio* with his Council remaining at *Seginſtown* ſome ſix miles further off. But not being able to live long on the air; for from their own Countrys they expected not much, and the continual Rains having raiſed the River of *Liffy*, and all the Bridges being broken hindred what was coming to them: and great Jealouſies (even more than the ordinary old ones) ariſing 'twixt the two Generals, and 'twixt the *Nuncio* alſo and *Preſton*, they return'd ſeveral ways in greater haſte than they came.

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The Quarters being deſtroyed, and *Athlone* betrayed to the *Nuncio* by *Dillon* a Fryar, and the Harbor of *Dublin* block'd up by Parliament Men of War, the Marqueſs of *Ormond* was forced to treat: and of the two choſe to apply himſelf to the Parliament of *England*: during which Treaty his Excellency was forced to march into the County of *Weſtmeathe* and other parts to feed his People, where we were not much at our eaſe, for *Owen ONeale* continually Alarm'd us.

Now all being agreed for the Delivery of the places under the Marqueſs's Command to the *Parliament Commiſſioners*, of which Mr. *Anneſley* ſince made Earl of *Angleſey*, was chief, I took my leave of his Excellency, reſolving to go to *France*, tho with much grief of heart to leave this Noble Lord, who had ſhewed ſo much Loyalty, Juſtice, and Steddineſs in his Proceedings, during theſe Tranſactions, even from the meeting in *Seginſtowne* to the concluſion of the *Peace* made with

with the *Confederates*, and now again to the giving up of his Government to the Parliament, for which I doubt not but he ſhall remain in Story, as he deſerves, a fixed Star, by whoſe Light others may walk in his ſteps; this was the effect of breaking the *Peace* of 46. And let the failure of that *Peace* lye at whoſe door it will, 'tis no raſhneſs to ſay, that Story hardly mentions any one thing that had ſo fatal a Conſequence. For if this *Peace* had gone on, the King had preſently been ſupplied with great Forces out of *Ireland* both of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*: and probably might have prevented the enſuing miſchiefs that ſhortly after hapned, both to him and to all his Loyal Subjects throughout his Dominions.

But the *Iriſh* had a more particular ill fate than the reſt by this breach of Faith; ☞ for albeit they diſcovering their Error, did, not long after mightily endeavor to make amends the beſt they could by a ſecond and very ſolemn agreement, called the *Peace*

of 48. which their Commissioners signed, and themselves confirmed and Sealed with the Blood of many ☞ thousands of their best men, who lost their Lives to maintain it, refusing in the mean time advantageous offers of *Peace* (and that even to the very last) made to them by the *Parliament*; yet since his Majesty's most happy Restauration, all their Estates some very few excepted, do by the Act of Settlement remain with the Conquerers.

☞ The Marques of *Ormond* having performed Agreements with the *Parliament*, left *Ireland*, and after some time spent in *England*, went for *France*. At St. *Germans* he attended the Queen and Prince of *Wales*. But it was not long before my Lord *Inchiquin*, having some discontent given him by the *Parliament* entred into secret Treaties with the Lord *Taaff*, since made Earl of *Carlingford*, and other Principal Leaders amongst the well-affected *Irish*, who since the rejection of the *Peace* had lost two great

great Battels, the one at *Dungans Hill* at *Linchs Knock*, under General *Preſton*, the other at *Knocknanoſs* under my Lord *Taaff*; and looking on theſe great Loſſes on their ſide, as heavy Judgments of Heaven to puniſh the late unparallelled breach of Faith, they began to be as weary of the *Nuncio*, as my Lord *Inchiquin* was of the *Parliament*. (Wherefore, after ſome time ſpent in Treaties between them, both Parties concluded a Ceſſation of Arms. The *Nuncio* then at *Killkenny* did what he could to hinder this *Ceſſation*, but not prevailing, retir'd in diſcontent to *Kilminchin* in the *Queens County*, a Country intirely poſſeſſed by *ONeales* Troops, who had Fortified *Athy*, the *Fort of Leaſe*, and all other places capable of ſtrength, and provided what was needful. Yet the *Nuncio*, for all his haſt out of *Killkenny*, did not omit to leave behind him an Interdict on all places, and an Excommunication againſt all perſons that ſhould adhere to the Ceſſation of Arms made

with my Lord *Inchiquin*. But seeing this had no great effect, after a time he left *Killminchin* and went to *Gallway*; where finding the Townsmen for the most part approving the Cessation, he put an Interdict on the Churches and Chappels there, causing the Doors to be shut up; but the Arch-Bishop of *Tuam* got them to be opened by Force, which caused such a Bustle that a man or two were killed in the tumult.

The *Irish* and *Inchiquin's* Party thus now in Cessation of Arms, they concluded to contrive the Marques's of *Ormond's* return, and upon his Arrival to Declare for the King. To this end Agents were sent from the Confederates to *France*, *viz.* the Marques's of *Antrim*, the Lord Viscount *Muskry*, and *Jeoffry Browne* Esquire, who acted so effectually, that upon their offers the Queen and Prince of *Wales* dispatched my Lord Lieutenant for *Ireland*. and accordingly he shipt at *Haver de Grace* in a States Man of War, and landed at *Corke*,

Cork, my ſelf and many others attending him. My Lord *Inchiquin* was then with his Army in the Field, but came to him in a ſhort time. I went before to *Killkenny*, whither his Excellency came ſoon after, and a new Treaty was ſet on Foot between him and an Aſſembly of the *Iriſh* then ſitting in Town. But the matter being of great weight, the Aſſembly uſed all means to be rightly informed of their Condition, and therefore required the Biſhop of *Ferns*, and Sir *Nicholas Plunckett*, lately return'd from *Rome*, to declare faithfully what might be expected from the *Pope* and Court of *Rome*; they very ingeniouſly gave an account of all that paſſed in the Negotiation with the *Pope*, and his Miniſters, concluding that no Aſſiſtance or Supplys were to be expected from that ſide. Hereupon the Aſſembly named commiſſioners to draw up ſuch Articles as might be propoſed to my Lord Lieutenant in order to a *Peace*. After ſome days his Excellency and the Commiſſioners came

to a full agreement, which the Aſſembly approved, and it goes by the name of the Peace of 1648. What Agreement there was Between his Excellency and my Lord *Inchiquin*, I know not; but am ſure that *Inchiquin* demanded of my Lord Lieut. and obtained all *Munſter* for the recruiting and ſtrengthening his Army. The Peace of 48. thus Concluded, the *Nuncio* Shipp'd himſelf for *France*, and ſo to his own Country after he had broken the *Confederacy*, and impriſoned moſt of the *Supream Council*, with others, that would not ſubmit unto him; and alſo had been the Cauſe of ſhedding the Blood of many thouſands ſlain in fighting his Battels and Parties; all which concluded with the Extirpation of the *Iriſh* Nation together with the Deſtruction of the Catholick Religion in that Kingdom. And the ſatisfaction the Confederates got by this diſorder was the *Nuncio*'s confinement to his Arch-Biſhoprick after the Pope had checked him with theſe words only,

you,

you behaved your ſelf raſhly. From the Excommunication the *ſupream Council* and Aſſembly in behalf of themſelves and the whole Nation, appealed to the Pope and ſo it remaineth to this day.

But to my own Story, I am to tell you that in the *Peace* of 46. there was an Article by which it was left to the Confederate Catholicks to name certain perſons for general Officers, to whom my Lord Lieutenant was to give Commiſſions.

Now I having ſerved them long as has been ſeen, and the ſame Article being confirmed in this Peace of 48. they named me, as they had done in the former, to be General of the Horſe of the whole Kingdom, which his Excellency approved of, gave me his Commiſſion accordingly, and ſoon after ſent me into the *Queens County* with 5000. Foot and 1000. Horſe, with ſome Cannon to reduce the *Fort of Leaſe*, otherwiſe called *Mary Borough Athy* and other Gariſons, poſ-

ſed by *ONeals* People. Thoſe Troops for the moſt part were Commanded by Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Col. *Treſwell*, and other *Engliſh* Officers, men that had always followed my Lord Lieutenants Fortune; and had been recruited and reinforced out of their Winter-Quarters at *Killkenny* and ſome Counties about it. With theſe having well executed my Order and reduced thoſe Gariſons, I marched to *Laughlin Bridge*, and there Encamped, giving an account to his Excellency of what had paſſed, and that I would expect there his farther Orders. But I was not many days, before my Lord Lieutenant, the Lord *Inchiquin* Lieutenant General of the Army, the Lord *Taaff* Maſter of the Ordnance, Mr. *Daniel ONeale* Governor of his Excellencies Guards of Horſe, with other Generals and the whole Army of my Lord *Inchiquins* and ſome *Iriſh* Regiments joyned us. With this Army, and a good Train of Artillery, we paſſed the River *Barrow*, and that night Encamped in

in the County of *Catharloe*, where ſomething paſſed in point of Command, that gave me ground to judge my ſelf not well dealt with, beſides I was haraſſed by my Marches and Labours in the *Queens County*. In Conſideration of which his Excellency at my requeſt gave me leave to retire for ſome days to refreſh my ſelf, and his Excellency Marched on and inveſted *Dublin*.

I returned to *Killkenny*, where being arrived, I found the whole City in an uproar; the Occaſion, and Iſſue of it, take as followeth. One Father *Caron*, at that time Commiſſary General of the *Recollects* all over *Ireland*, being in *Killkenny* to reform the Abuſes of his Order there, was by the Commiſſioners of Truſt deſired to remove one *Brenan* and ſix or ſeven more out of the *Franciſcan* Monaſtery of that Town, and ſend them elſewhere to be kept under Diſcipline; their reaſon was, that theſe men were notoriouſly known to be ſtill moſt violent ſticklers for the ways of the

the *Nuncio*, and that they made it their buſineſs to incenſe the People anew againſt the *Peace*, to alienate them from the Government and draw them wholly to *Owin ONeale*, who yet ſtood out againſt all agreement with the King.

To ſatisfie ſo juſt a demand of the Commiſſioners, Father *Caron* appoints a day for *Brenan* and his Aſſociates to depart *Killkenny*, and go to the ſeveral other Convents, which he had appointed for them. And becauſe he found by their anſwers they were reſolved not to obey him, the *Commiſſioners of Truſt*, upon notice thereof, more effectually reſolved to force their Obedience to his Commands, by ſending them away conducted by Guards, (yet by Guards of Roman-Catholick-Soldiers) to the Convents appointed them by their Superior.

On this reſolution of the *Commiſſioners of Truſt*, *Brenan* and his refractory Brothers having timely notice, and ſeeing no remedy, but by the Intereſt

tereſt they had in the Town, three or four of them being Natives, as one by name *Rooth*, was Brother to the Maior; beſides confiding in the Common People, whom they had already poſſeſſed with many Lies, but above all perſwading themſelves that no Catholick durſt attempt to violate the Sanctity of their Habit, or the priviledge of their Profeſſion by laying violent hands upon them; and Proteſtants they knew very well there were none in Town. What do they conclude at laſt? even very Religiouſly to raiſe dangerous Tumults, and that by a moſt falſe and malicious Invention.

When the day appointed was come, theſe unruly Regulars, by themſelves and their Emiſſaries, inform the heads of the Rabble abroad, that the Commiſſary and Father *Peter Walſh*, with ſome five or ſix more of their Company, had privately introduced a number of my Lord *Inchiquin*'s Proteſtant *Iriſh* Soldiers, into their Convent and cloathed them like Fri-

ars

ars, of purpose to seize at night those few Religious men that remained unalterable in their obedience, to the *See Apostolicke*; and either to draw them into the River *Neoir*, that ran by their Garden, or waft them over by Boat, and put them to a more cruel death elsewhere, in some unknown place.

This lie did so enflame the meaner sort in the Town, and Suburbs, (already pretty well prepared by many other inventions) that upon a sudden, many of them forced their way into the Monastery, cursing and exclaiming against those that would turn away their friends.

Then arming themselves with what came next to their hands, with all Fury imaginable they attacked a little Castle, whereinto the Commissary with his Company withdrew, to save themselves. At this time I came to Town, accompanied by Sir *George Hamilton* and four or five Gentlemen, with about a dozen Horse, three Trumpets, and some Footmen; and being

being informed of the matter, I Galloped presently with those of my Company to the place, had a Charge Sounded, and fell among the Rabble, and Firing of Pistols, and Crying, Kill, Kill, Kill. The multitude hearing the Trumpets, and seeing the Fire, (for 'twas now grown dusky) and knowing my voice, were surprized, and thought themselves betrayed, as knowing the Army to be far off, in their March to *Dublin*, and therefore immediately routed, and ran away; tho they had brought them in the Castle so low, that to speak within compass, they could not hold out a quarter of an hour. The Fathers being thus relieved, after four hours defence, I enquired who governed this Siege, and found that seven or eight Friars of the Convent, and above all the aforementioned, *Brenan*, and *Rooth* were the chief contrivers of this Tumult. I sent for these Incendiaries, and whilst I was reasoning with them, the Town Major one *Archer*, with an hundred

hundred Muſqueteers came to my aſſiſtance, and preſently followed the Mayor, and Aldermen; whom after I had roundly ratled for ſuffering this diſorder, I commanded them to lay hold of thoſe Friars, and carry them Priſoners to the Caſtle. At which they ſtaggering, and this *Brenan*, a ſturdy Friar preſuming to ſay, he would fain ſee what man durſt touch his Habit, I laid hold on him, ſaying *lies the Enchantment there?* and then the Mayor, Town Major, and the reſt carried them away Priſoners to the Caſtle as I had ordered.

Now after a while that I had diverted my ſelf with hunting, and other recreations in the Country, I repaired to *Limmerick*; and while I ſtaid there, I cauſed all the People of that City, and County (either by fair, or foul means) to bring in what remained due to the King of their Applotment and got together about ten thouſand pounds, which I delivered to Sir *George Hamilton* Treaſurer of the Army. My Lord Lieutenant now

now wrote to the *Commiſſioners of Truſt*, ſitting at *Kilkenny*, to let me know, that I ſhould now come to the Army, and all difficulties concerning Command ſhould be removed, to my ſatisfaction. I obeyed, and Sir *George Hamilton* and my ſelf with our ten thouſand pounds, went ſtreight to the Army, which we found in their March removing from the *Phœnix*-ſide of *Dublin* to *Rathmines* where they Encamped.

But my Lord *Inchiquin* ſoon after acquainted his Excellency, with ſome Letters he had received from his Officers in *Munſter*, that *Cromwell* was to land in that Country; which if true, he feared all his Towns would Revolt, if not prevented by his ſpeedy repair thither, with all or at leaſt the moſt part of his Army; and deſired his Excellencies conſent, that he might march away with 1100. Horſe, to ſecure the Province. This his Excellency imparted to me, which ſurpriſed me extremely, being ſure the whole was Army too weak for the

the work in hand. Nevertheleſs my Lord *Inchiquin* Marched away with his 1100. Horſe, and you may imagine, many more; which in great measure, gave way to the Defeat, that ſoon after hapned before *Dublin*.

Not long after this, *Cromwell*, with his Army Landed at *Dublin*, Marched to *Tredath*, and took it (with all the Towns in them parts) by Storm; and thoſe within, near 3000. men, he put all to the Sword. My Lord Lieutenant being not able to make head againſt him retired with what Troops he had to the County of *Killkenny*, where my Lord *Inchiquin* came to him, and in a ſhort time made up a pretty good Army; for beſides my Lord *Inchiquins* Forces, many *Ulſter* Regiments of Foot joyned them; *Owen ONeale*, having by this time (tho too late for himſelf and the Kings Service) come in upon Articles, which he ſigned upon his Death-Bed, after he had been rejected by the Parliament.

Crom-

Cromwell having thus carried all before him about *Tredath*, returned to *Dublin*, to refreſh his Army; yet ſtaid not many days, but took his March by the Sea ſide, through the County of *Wicklow* to beſiege *Wexford*. My Lord *Inchiquin* was ſent to oppoſe; and met him on the ſtrand toward *Glaſcarrigg* in the County of *Wexford*, and fought him, but was defeated.

My Lord Lieutenant being with his Army come to *Roſſe*, and fearing that *Wexford* now Beſieged, was not ſufficiently manned to hold out, till he had got an Army together, to raiſe the Siege, or fight *Cromwell*; I, as knowing the Town and Country about it, offered to attempt the Relief of it. His Excellency accepted of my good Will, and ordered me as many Regiments of *Ulſter* Foot, as made one thouſand five hundred men, and appointed 200 Horſe to eſcort us. I took a great compaſs and came before day to the Ferry, near Sir *Thomas Eſmonds* Houſe, called *Ballintreman*,

treman, who as I remember was along with me upon this Expedition. Then leaving the Horſe for my return, I paſs'd that Arm of the Sea in Boats, and having delivered the Foot to Sir *Edmund Butler* (the Governor) I took the ſame way homewards as I came.

The Town, thus manned was Impregnable as to *Cromwell* by Force; yet he took it by the advantage of a Caſtle that was betrayed unto him, by the Governor *James Stafford*. This Caſtle was ſtrong, and ſtood about 3 or 400 paces from the Wall. The Communication with the Town could not be cut, ſo that the danger was leaſt there, if Treachery had not been in the caſe. But the Caſtle being betrayed, it maſtered all that part of the wall, whereupon *Cromwell*'s Forces entred and made almoſt as great a ſlaughter as at *Droghedae*.

My Lord Lieutenant then with his Army retired over the River of *Roſſe*, and Encamped on the County of *Killkenny*'s ſide; from whence his Excellency

lency sent me into the County of *Waterford*, to *Passage*, over against *Bally-hack*, to look after the relieving of *Duncannon*, Besieged by some of *Cromwell's* People. I think *Ireton* commanded; and for all there were Parliament Ships before it, I ventured one morning with a Boat, and got into the place to the Governor, a brave Gentleman one Col. *Wogan*, whom my Lord sometime before had sent thither to Command, and with him besides the *Irish* Garison about 100 *English* Officers, who had served the King in the Wars of *England*. This Gentleman from the highest part of the Rampier shewed me how the Enemy lay, and after I had well considered all, I offered to send him that night by Sea 80 Horses, with Saddles and Pistols, if he could mount them with so many of his *English* Officers, and before day make a sharp Sally with them, and some Foot upon the Enemy. He liked the proposal extremely, but doubted much my performance; it being about three miles by Sea. I

desired him to leave that Town, and assured him, he should shortly be satisfied of what I undertook.

Having thus concluded, I took my Boat, returned, and immediately set my self to my business, that I might lose no time because the Tide served in the beginning of the night. And having provided Boats, I commanded 80 Horse, to come to the Sea-side, caused them to be Boated out of hand, and sent them away. They came all to *Duncannon* safe, and undiscovered, and all was executed as designed, great slaughter made, and the Cannon seized; for the confusion amongst the Enemy was great, by reason that they judged it the falling in of an Army from abroad, seeing Horses come against them, and knowing of none in the Fort: our people retiring before day, the Enemy raised the Siege in the Morning, and Marched off.

His Excellency after this, made me Governor of *Waterford*; whither I went in with 1000 men; but the Town

Town would not admit them entrance. Whereupon after ſeveral days diſpute, deſpairing of ſucceſs, I marched away in the night: All this while the Armies were not idle; for *Cromwell* after the Rendition of *Wexford* came to *Roſſe*, and making a Breach took it. There he paſſed the River, and marched through the County of *Kilkenny* to *Carrick*, and croſſing the River of *Shuir* into the County of *Waterford*, marched on into the County of *Corke*, where all my Lord *Inchiquin*'s Towns opened their Gates to him. But *Cromwell* for his better ſecurity left Col. *Reynolds*, with a great party of Horſe, and Foot in *Carrick* to keep the Town and Bridg which is over the River *Shuir*. Towards the Evening my Lord Lieutenant came to this place with his Army, but before he attempted any thing, was called away, on an alarm, that *Waterford* was in danger; and left the Command of his Army to my Lord *Inchiquin* and Lord *Taaff*, who immediately gave order to Storm the

Place. This was done with great Valour, but wanting materials to make a Breach in the Wall, or to Scale it, they were after ſome hours forced to draw off, having loſt ſome hundreds of men. I was preſent at this Action, but few knew it. The more particular actings of the Armies, I muſt leave to the Relation of thoſe that know better, for I was ſeldom with them, but employed up and down, as you ſee. The perſons principally intruſted by my Lord Lieutenant, for the Government of the Army, were my Lord *Inchiquin*, and my Lord *Taaffe* till the Spring following.

Then *Cromwell* began to move again, having drawn his Forces together, and had gained one Captain *Tickle* to ſecure him a Gate or two of *Kilkenny*, and to betray into his hands, my Lord Lieutenant, my ſelf, and ſome others, when he ſhould think fit. The Plague ſtrangely raged there at that time, as it had for a long while in our Towns thereabouts

bouts; and *Cromwell* having left his Garisons in the County of *Cork* in good order, was advanced into the County of *Tipperary*, in his way to the Siege of *Kilkenny*; I having nothing to do went early one morning a Fox-hunting, as I was accustomed all the Winter. My Lord Lieutenant joyning me said, he would see what we did, and being a little further out of Town, he began to tell me how he had discovered the Treachery of *Tickle*, *Cromwell*'s approach, and his design to Besiege this City. After some discourse, it was not long before my Lord came to the point, and told me it was resolved in Council, that he should immediately repair into the County of *Clare*, and from thence and the adjacent Countries endeavour the raising of an Army, to attend the motions of *Cromwell*; and that in his absence he should appoint me Commander in chief of the Province in *Leinster*.

Any man may judge how I was pleased with this Honour; but my o-

bedience (tho I thought my ſelf loſt by it) obliged me to a ſubmiſſion, and caſt my ſelf at my Lords feet to diſpoſe of me as he pleaſed: The Commiſſioner with all neceſſary Orders diſpatched his Excellency with his Generals, and *Commiſſioners of Truſt*, left *Killkenny*, and went ſtrait to the County of *Clare*.

I loſt no time in this juncture, but beſtirr'd my ſelf with all poſſible diligence, making Major *James Walſh*, Governor of the Caſtle, and Sir *Walter Butler* of the City; and having done all I could to furniſh it with Men, Proviſion, and Ammunition of all ſorts, I marched out my ſelf, leaving the Gariſons about 200 Horſe, and 1000 Foot ſtrong.

Cromwell now moving from *Caſhell*, on his March to *Callen*, I went to *Catherlogh*, hoping to have met there ſuch Troops, from all parts of the Province, as I had ordered; but was diſappointed; for thoſe Quartered in the higher part of the divident, under the Command of the Lord *Dillon*,

lon, intirely failed, being about the number of 2500 Foot, and 6 or 700 Horſe, and in their ſtead I received a Letter from his Lordſhip, as if he were ſending them in great haſt, but they never came, tho I repeated often my Orders.

Theſe and ſome other Troops not appearing, I knew not well what to do; for I had but 800 Foot of the Province, and an *Ulſter* Regiment of 1200 more. Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* Commiſſary General of the Horſe, was with me, and his Regiment with my Lord Lieutenant's Commanded by Col. *Treſwell*, and ſome other Troops made up near 1000 Horſe. At this time an *Iriſh man* was brought unto me, taken by ſome of my Guards, who being to be examined, deſired to ſpeak to me alone; which being granted, he produced a piece of yellow Wax, in form almoſt round, which he was to ſwallow on occaſion, within it there was a Note from Col. *Hewſon* to *Cromwell*, intimating, that he with his Forces, were upon their

March

March from *Dublin*, but desired his Orders, in respect that I lay in his way. Having copied the Note, I rolled it in the Wax as I had it; and the Fellow having assured me of his return with *Cromwells* answer, I let him go on his way. Within two or three days after, he returned, and delivered me another piece of Wax, as the former with *Cromwells* Orders to *Hewson* inclosed, which I kept; however *Hewson* held on his March, and passed the River *Barrow*, eight or ten miles below me.

Now tho I was not of strength to meddle with any of these Armies, yet I made some advantage of my intelligence: For whilst they were joyning, I marched to *Athy*, a Town with a Bridge eight miles above me, on the same River, where *Hewson* had a Magazine, with 700 men in Garison, and coming before it an hour before sun-set, I took it by Storm, with all the Garison Prisoners, at discretion. But the Place not being tenable, I slighted it, and not knowing what

what to do with my Priſoners, I made a Preſent of them to *Cromwell*, deſiring him, (by Letter) to do the like to me, if any of mine ſhould fall into his power.

But he little valued my Civility, for in a very few days after, he Beſieged *Gowran* where Col. *Hammond* Commanded, and the Soldiers Mutining, and giving up the Place, with their Officers, he cauſed *Hammond* with ſome other *Engliſh* Officers, to be ſhot to death. And having thus gained *Gowran* and cleared all other places in the County, he fell to work, and Beſieged the very Town of *Killkenny*. Whereupon I took my March to *Bally raggett*, within ſeven miles of him. But finding my ſelf too much expoſed there, I Marched to *Oſſory*, and made my Head-Quarter in *Caſtle-Town*, a place belonging to Mr. *Fitz-Patrick*; whence I ſent to the Lord *Dillon* to come to me with all the Force he had. He gave me ſtill fair promiſes, (as before) but never came. Then with the advice of Sir

Thomas

Thomas Armſtrong and Col. *Treſwell*, I reſolved with my Party, to enter *Killkenny*, which was eaſie to be done, the ſide where the River runs, being open. But when I came to my Rendezvouz, my *Ulſter* Regiment appeared not, but were Marched away to their own Country; alledging they came to Fight againſt men, but not againſt God; their meaning was becauſe of the Plague.

This deſign being thus broken, and a great Breach made in the Wall near the Caſtle, which had been aſſaulted two or three times, and no hopes ever to be ſuccoured, I ſent orders to the Governor to make conditions, when they thought fit, and both to joyn at the ſame time, tho the Caſtle might hold out two or three days longer than the Town.

Cromwell being thus Maſter of *Killkenny*, I retired into the Kings County; where underſtanding that *Carloe* Caſtle was Beſieged, I appointed a Rendezvouz, intending to attempt the Succour; but coming to the place, I found

I found not half my Foot, the reſt were marched into *Munſter*, I know not by whoſe Orders.

Now finding my ſelf thus uſed, and reflecting on ſome other hardſhips, put upon me ſince the *Peace* of 1648. in deſpair of ſucceſs, I left *Leinſter*, and went to my Lord Lieutenant in the County of *Clare*, where I rendred him an account how I had been diſappointed, to the end he might do as he thought fit.

I had not been long there attending his Excellency, before *Ireton* ſate down before *Limrick* on the County of *Limrick*-ſide, leaving *Thomond*'s ſide open. His Excellency repaired thither, and being come near the end of the Bridge, ſent to the Mayor to let him know he was there with ſome Troops, and ready to enter with them, for the defence of the place. The Mayor having conſulted his Brethren made excuſe, as if they had no need of Relief. Several Meſſages paſſed to and fro, till at length his Excellency loſing all patience, declared unto them, that

that if they would not receive and obey him, he would leave the Kingdom. But ſeeing all would not do, he called me aſide, and told me, he was in good earneſt, and would be gone; but commanded me to ſtay, and keep up a Buſtle as long as I could, it being the Kings Service. I was very unwilling to ſtay behind, ſeeing he took with him, my Lord *Inchiquin*, my Lord *Taaffe*, Col. *Daniel ONeale*, and other his friends. But the ſound of the Kings Service, ſo charmed me, that I abandoned my own Judgment, and ſubmitted to what his Excellency ſhould order. He then gave me a Commiſſion to be Commander in Chief of the Province of *Munſter*, and the County of *Clare*, having already that of *Leinſter*, and of the General of the Horſe of the whole Kingdom. Thus qualified, his Excellence gave me poſſeſſion of his Troops there in their Arms, together with his Life-Guards, to ſerve me, as they had done him, in all about 2000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe.

His

His Excelleny for my better encouragement, assured me that he would leave a Commission for my Lord *Clanrickard* to be Lord Deputy.

Now my Lord being gone, and not suffering me to accompany him more than a mile, I went into the Town addressing my self to the Mayor and Aldermen, and I told them how I was left, and asked them whether they were pleased with it, or would obey me in that Station? They took some time to consult; but at length submitted to my pleasure. Whereupon immediately I visited their Walls, and at the same time took a view of the Enemy, whom I judged to be very loose, and exposed, if vigorously assaulted: and therefore resolved, in the beginning of the night to draw my Troops into Town, and a little before day, to make a sharp Sally. On what Intelligence I know not, but *Ireton* raised his Siege, and marched off that very night. This done, I returned my Troops to their Quarters, and remained my self in the Town,

till

till I had ſent orders to all Officers, commanding in the ſeveral Provinces, and particularly to my Lord *Muſkry*, then in *Kerry*, whom I deſired to make himſelf as ſtrong as he could, and that I would ſoon be with him, to increaſe his Forces. In order to this I paſſed the *Shannon*, in the night about twelve miles below *Limrick*, with 2000 men; and tho the River was full of Parliament Ships, and two miles over, yet I had not the leaſt loſs, but landed ſafe in *Kerry*, near *Drumbeg*, took *Leſtole*, and Marched till I came to my Lord *Muskry*'s at *Tralee*. Having acquainted his Lordſhip with what had paſſed, and ordered what I would have done, particularly in raiſing of Forces, I left my men with him, and returned to *Innis* my Reſidence in the County of *Clare*.

From thence, after ſome refreſhment, I went to *Portumna*, to viſit the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* who bid me very welcome. After Dinner I deſiring to retire my ſelf for an hour

or

or two, he brought me to my Chamber, and asked whether it would not be troubleſom, that he ſtaid a little with me? I anſwered no, but the contrary; for my point was to get him to take the Government, by accepting the Commiſſion left by my Lord Lieutenant; yet I ſpake nothing of it, hoping that he would begin; which he did. The paſſages on this Subject are too tedious to be related; but before we parted, I got him to ſend to the *Commiſſioners of Truſt* then ſitting at *Laghreagh*, for his Commiſſion, and declared he would take upon him the Government. Whereupon to loſe no time, I gave him the beſt account I could of the Forces in the Kingdom as well friends as foes: for he, during the War had been no more than a Spectator, beloved and reſpected of all, and might have ſo continued, had not his great Loyalty drawn him to take up this Commiſſion (which was little leſs than to Sacrifice himſelf, and his) only to give the King time to try his Fortune

with *Cromwell*, whoſe Armies were then near *Sterling* in *Scotland*, Encamped not far aſunder, as the Kings Letters, brought by *Dean King* to us imported. We agreed at this meeting, that his Lordſhip ſhould immediately raiſe 1000 Horſe as an addition to the ſtanding Forces in *Connaught*, and that I ſhould March with my 1000 Horſe out of the County of *Clare*, by *Limrick* to the Silver Mines, in the County of *Tipperary*, and be at ſuch a day at the Rendezvouz, where I ſhould meet with 1500 Foot he would ſend me, and a good officer.

I complyed punctually with my Orders, and the Mayor of *Limrick* as I Marched through the City on demand gave me 100 Foot. The Alarm of my March was ſoon known to Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, my Lord *Broghill* or both, lying near *Killmallock* with great Forces. They purſued me in all haſt, and I Marched on to our appointed Rendezvouz, but could hear no news there, of the

1500

1500 Foot I was promiſed. Having loſt this Anchor, I was put to my ſhifts, the Enemies coming on I had no other way but to thruſt my ſelf into the next faſtneſs, and ſave my ſelf as well as I could; but there was a Caſtle of the *OMaghers* that ſtood in the way, poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, and there being no other paſſage, I ſent to the adjacent Villages, and got together Croes of Iron, Pick-axes, and what elſe could be found neceſſary, and fell a Storming of the Caſtle, and in three or four hours took it. In this place I kept the 100 men I had from *Limrick*, to ſecure the Paſs, and being now pretty ſafe, I lodged that night at my eaſe: here Coll. *Fitz Patrick* came to me, who had for ſome time kept in thoſe faſtneſſes, with a good Party of Foot and ſome Horſe. My men being well refreſhed, I took the plain Country near *Burras*, and after entring the Woods at the Foot of the Mountain *Sleave-Bleauma*, I met Sir *Walter Dungan* then Commiſſary General of

the Horſe, as was ordered. He brought with him only 300 Horſe, and Ifinding my ſelf ſtill purſued with Horſe and Foot, beſides what were gathering round from all ſides, I ordered Sir *Walter* to return from whence he came, and to ſtop all the Forces I had ſent for, as well from *Ulſter* as *Leinſter*; thence with my 1000 Horſe I Marched into *Connaught* paſſing by the Bridge of *Athloane*, and poſted to *Loghreagh*, where my Lord Deputy then was, with a General Aſſembly ſitting in his Houſe. At my coming into his Chamber, I found about a dozen principal men of the Aſſembly, deputed to him, ſetting forth the deſperate condition of the Nation, with the impoſſibility much further to hold out. Beſides that there were now come to the Town, Mr. *John Grace*, and Mr. *John Bryan*, Commiſſioners from the Parliament or their Commander in Chief, offering greater Conditions than was reaſonably to be expected as the Caſe ſtood. Whilſt this Addreſs was making,

making, my Lord was glad to ſee me come in, and ordered them to repeat what they had ſaid. I ſeemed much Scandalized at the ill timing of their propoſals, and therefore declared my diſlike to them. Then by my Lords permiſſion,(weary and dirty as I was) I went down into the Aſſembly being a Member, as a Peer of the Kingdom, and expreſs'd my deteſtation of what they had in hand, demonſtrating that if the 1500 men, commanded by Coll. *Burke* had not failed to meet me, as they promiſed at the Rendezvouz, I had probably now been Maſter of the Field; beſides that the noiſe of a Treaty would deſtroy all that could be hoped for, from the endeavors againſt *Cromwell*. That his Majeſty (as his own Letter ſignified) both to my Lord Deputy, and my ſelf, made no doubt, if he could gain forty eight hours March towards *England* before *Cromwell*, but his buſineſs was done; becauſe all were ready to joyn in his aſſiſtance; and therefore conjured us not to hearken to

any Treaty with the Enemy. Then I ſet forth the State of the Forces of the Kingdom on all ſides, and concluded very ſeverely againſt the two *Parliament Commiſſioners*; ſo that they haſtily packed out of Town, and the Aſſembly let the matter fall.

Reynolds now Beſieged *Tehcrahan* in *Meath*, and my Lord Deputy came to *Tirrells* Paſs about eight miles from it, with 2000 Foot, and 700 Horſe; where a Council of War being held, I propoſed that our Horſe ſhould Alarm the Enemy, whilſt the Foot attempted through the Boggs to ſuccour the Place; 'twas by all alledged impoſſible to be done, for coming near the place, there were two necks of Land, that did almoſt meet, and between them there was a great way or *Tougher*, with a large ditch of water on each ſide, which muſt be croſſed, and that in all likelihood the Enemy would plant their Guns at both ends of this *Tougher*, and bring the ſtrength of their Army to defend that Paſſage, there being no other

way;

way; seeing we had no force to attack them on firm Land. I heard all this, and knew it very well, yet did not agree to the impossibility of entring the place; and therefore addressing my self to my Lord Deputy, I begg'd Pardon if I guessed at the thoughts of the Officers there present; which was, that I being General of the Horse, might well advance this undertaking, for I was to be with the Horse, and so to have no share in the Danger. But to shew the contrary, I desired his Excellency to give me the Command of that Party of Foot, and would venture to relieve the Town, through the Bogg, while the Horse Alarm'd the Enemy on the other side. It being thus determined, I entred the Bogg, which was eight miles long, with my two thousand Foot, and his Excellency took his March with the Horse, as was agreed. Coming in sight of this *Tougher*, I found the Enemy expecting, as we had supposed: for they saw me Marching from my first entring into the Bogg.

Then I put my men into the beſt Order I could, in three Diviſions, two to attempt paſſing the *Tougher*, the third Commanded by one Captain *Fox*, to ſtand ſtill, and face two or three Battalions, that were drawn on my right hand, fearing they would fall on my Flank or Rear. Then I marched on with my two Diviſions towards the *Tougher*, but coming within Shot, they raked me with their Cannon, and great Volleys of ſmall ſhot. Nevertheleſs, I advanced ſtill, and my men fought it on the *Tougher*, with handy-blows, and theſe that defended it retired to their Horſe, which ſtood drawn up at each end of the *Tougher* on firm Land. Seeing this going ſo well I looked back and ſaw my third Diviſion, (which was to ſtand ſtill) coming after me. I ran to it crying to the Officer that Commanded to attack the Battalions, which he was ordered to look after. On this, he turn'd to his men, and ſpake ſomething in *Iriſh*, that I did not know, and marched two or three hundred

dred paces in such a fashion, that I could not tell whether he intended fighting or running away. At last he did run away and all his Party followed, which when the two Divisions that had passed the *Tougher* saw, they marched on into the place, and I was left alone, only some Gentlemen with me, and by the favor of the night, (for now it began to be dark) I got off, and by the next morning returned to *Tyrrells* Pass. My Lord Deputy had all the story before my coming, and got the Captain secured that had caused this Disorder who being Tryed by a Council of War was Condemned, and shot to Death.

After this, *Ireton* knowing our Weakness two well, and that we did only keep a Bustle, till the King and *Cromwell* had decided their Quarrel, he again sate down before *Limrick*, with a powerful Army, on the County of *Limrick* side. I marched with what Forces could be drawn together, encamped at *Killaloo*, to observe

ſerve his Motions. He kept a Guard on his ſide of the River, as I did againſt him at *Bryans-Bridge*, and *Caſtle-Connell*. We lay in this manner a long time, he attempting nothing on the Town, or River, which was not Fordable in any place.

My Lord Deputy was at this time at *Gallway*, and writ to me in all haſt to come to him. On my arrival, he told me, that the Abbot of St. *Katharine* was in the Harbor, and in his company many Officers, with a quantity of Arms, Ammunition, and other materials for War; that they were ſent by the Duke of *Lorain* who pretended by ſome Agreement to be Protector Royal of the Kingdom of *Ireland* with power over all our Forces and Places, and to continue that Title and Dominion till after the War ended, he was reimburſed all his Expenſes, and his Damages ſatisfied. I was much ſtartled at the News; for though I ſtrugled to keep up a Buſtle, yet I never intended to buy it ſo dear as to give any footing or the leaſt pretence

tence or title to any Foreign Prince. And having heard out his Lordſhip, I took the boldneſs to ask him, how far he was concerned in this matter. He proteſted before God, and upon his Honor he never gave Commiſſion for any ſuch Treaty; and as to the thing he knew no more than what he had told me, other than that the *General Aſſembly* then ſitting in Town were in great Joy for this Succour, and preſſed him earneſtly for the Reception; but I found him intirely againſt it.

Being thus ſatisfied, I deſired him to leave the matter to me, and let me deal with the Aſſembly. I went therefore immediately and found them on the debate, to which I ſpoke in my time; and with much deteſtation of the thing, declared all Traitors that were on ſuch terms for receiving this Succour, and that I would hear no more of it, but return to my Forces, knowing what I had to do. My Lord Deputy was much pleaſed with this round diſcourſe, and publickly approved

proved it: So the Abbot, with what he had, ſet Sail, and returned from whence he came.

At my return, (which was without delay) to *Killalow* I found all quiet, and whether *Ireton* had information of this paſſage I know not, but by a Trumpet I received from him a long Letter, four ſides of Paper cloſe written in a ſmall hand; the drift was to ſet forth the juſtneſs of the Parliaments proceedings, their great power, how ſhort a time I could ſubſiſt, what ill company I was with, and threw what dirt he could on the King I ſerved; but concluded with great value of my Perſon, pitying my condition, and offering if I would retire and live in *England*, I ſhould not only enjoy my Eſtate, but remain in ſafety with eſteem and favor of the Parliament. This Letter I ſhewed immediately to Father *Peter Walſh*, whom I had always found faithful to the King and a great Lover of his Country. By his advice, and by the ſame Trumpet I anſwered all his

his points, and rejected his propoſition as to every particular, deſiring him withal to ſend no more Trumpets with ſuch Errands. From this time there was an end of all Meſſages and Letters between us.

All this while *Ireton* remained ſtill and quiet, without any Action or Attempt, expecting the coming of Sir *Charles Coot* on my back or the fall of the River; both came together, and beſides that, a third unlucky accident; for now ſome days I kept Guards towards *Connaught*, when *Ireton* by Treachery of the Officer, one Captain *Kelly*, made himſelf Maſter of a Paſs called *Bryans Bridge*; whilſt I was haſtning with ſome Troops to oppoſe, having left the defence of the Paſs at *Killaloo* to Coll. *Fennel*, he Cowardly, or Treacherouſly quitted it, and with his Party fled into *Limrick*; where upon the Rendition of the Town, which was not long after, *Ireton*, with more than his ordinary Juſtice, hanged him. Some ſay he was carried to *Corke*, and there

there pleaded for his defence, not only this ſervice, but how he had betrayed me before *Youghall*; but his Judges would not hear him on his Merits, but bid him clear himſelf of the Murthers laid to his Charge.

Now having Letters from my Lord Deputy, of Sir *Charles Coot*'s approach, I haſtned to him with what Troops I had left, *viz.* about 300 Horſe, and found him drawn into *Loghreagh* with his Forces; not being able to keep the Field againſt *Coot*, who was twice his number, yet did not think fit to attack him, and was gone by, before my coming. About this time, *Athlone* gave up to the Enemy, and ſo did *Limrick* to *Ireton* ſome weeks after. In the mean time, my Lord Deputy, and my ſelf, with what Troops we had, retired towards *Jer-Connaught*, under the covert of the River, that runs by *Gallway*, and ſo ſhifted up and down, till Sir *Charles Coot* came before it on *Loghreaghs* ſide and had taken a Caſtle a little above

above on the River. Then we retired into *Gallway*, where we had not been long before we heard of the Kings Defeat at *Worceſter*.

A man now would think this noble Lord had diſcharged his part; yet his zeal carried him farther: for he diſpatched me for *France*, to the King by the way of *Inniſh-boſin*, (for the River of *Gallway* was full of Parliament Ships) with orders to ſet out the ill State of his Majeſties affairs in *Ireland*; how the Enemy carried all before them; yet nevertheleſs to ſerve his Majeſty, he intended after *Gallway* ſhould be loſt, to make a Mountain War and to give the Rebels trouble for ſome time, if his Majeſty would but ſend him ſome ſmall Succour, which he demanded, & appointed me to return with to *Inniſh-boſin*; a fit place for a Magazine, it being a large Iſland lying off *Jer-Connaught*, three miles into the Sea, in which we had a ſtrong Gariſon. 'Tis ſurrounded with Rocks, and has but one entrance, where there is a pretty good Har-

Harbour for Frigats and ſmall Men of War. Here I ſhipped my ſelf and Landed at *Breſt*, ordering the Frigat that brought me, Commanded by Captain *Antonio Vanderſip*, of *Bruges*, to expect my Orders. We had a ſharp fight at Sea, with an *Engliſh* Ship, but foul weather 'parted us, and no great hurt was done, but the Biſhop of *Down* kill'd in the Cabbin, 'tis thought, by the wind of a Bullet, or fear; for he had not the leaſt ſign of any hurt, and lived near a quarter of an hour.

Being Landed, I took poſt for St. *Germans*, where I found the King, Queen Mother, and my Lord of *Ormond*. I delivered my Letters of Credence, and in a day or two, had my Audience. They ſeemed to take it to heart, and couſulted Cardinal *Mazarine*, and the chief Miniſters. But the truth is, the King of *France*'s affairs were at that time ſo much in diſorder, by reaſon of the Civil War, that nothing could be done. With this anſwer, the King gave me a Letter

ter to my Lord Deputy, acknowledging his good ſervices and ordering he ſhould make the beſt Conditions for himſelf and Party that he could, and expect a better ſeaſon.

Wherefore having thus diſcharged my Commiſſion, and ſeeing no hopes of ſucceſs in *Ireland*, I diſcharged my Frigat, and with the Kings permiſſion, engaged my ſelf in the Service of the Prince of *Conde*, who was then joined with the *Spaniard*. But firſt I ſent by a ſafe hand his Majeſties Letter to my good Lord *Clanrickard*; of whom I have ſaid ſo much already, that I need add nothing but my own eſteem for his worthy memory, as a pattern of Loyalty. Between my leaving him and his laying down Arms, I can give no account of his Adventures, but have heard that he was driven to great Extremity.

AN APPENDIX.

IN the year 1638. being at *Rome*, I received a Letter from the late King *Charles* the First, requiring me to attend him in his Expedition againſt the *Scots*, then Revolted and in Arms. Two days after I took poſt for *England*, and near *Turin* fell into an Army Commanded by the Marqueſs de *Leganes*, Governor of *Millan* for the King of *Spain*, who was Marching to joyn an other Army, then Beſieging that Place. But ſoon the Siege was raiſed, and I went into the Town where I found her Royal Highneſs the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* in great diſorder, as if ſhe had got no reſt in many nights. I taking leave

of her, ſhe gave me a Muſquet Bullet, much battered, to deliver to her Siſter the Queen of *England*, that came in at her Window, and miſſed her narrowly.

Arriving at *London*, I followed the King to *Berwick*; whom I found Encamped with a good Army near it, the River of *Tweed* before him; for the number, to this hour I never ſaw a better, and as I was told and believe, it could not be leſs than 16 or 17000 Horſe and Foot, with a good Train of Arillery. Soon after my arrival there was a pacification; the next day I dined with *Leſly* General of the *scots*, he ſhewed me his Army in Battalia, in number about 10 or 12000 Horſe and Foot, but as to the Horſes and Arms the twentieth man could not have paſſed Muſter amongſt any Armies I have ſince ſeen.

After this I paſſed my time as well as I could at home, till in the year 1640 the King of *France* Beſieged *Arras*. On the news I went for *Bruxells*, and thence followed the Prince

Prince *Cardinal* (Governor of the *Low Countries*) to *Doway*, his Army intrenched near the Town, expecting the coming up of others, especially the Troops of the Emperor Commanded by *Lamboy*, and those of *Lorain*, by the Duke of *Lorain* himself. All being arrived, the whole Army marched, and coming to *Monte* St. *Aloy*, near the Enemies Line, Encamped on the Right by it; Many great Parties were sent out for the entring of Convoys, but they came so strong that little good was done upon them. The King of *France* being at *Amiens*, took care of all, whilst Mounsieur *Millerie*, *grand Master de L. Artillery*, press'd the Siege. Much time was trifled in this manner by the *Spaniards*; at length they attacked the Line, but were beaten off. Then Jealousies and Discontents began amongst the great ones, which daily increased, and the Arrearband beaten, where their Lieutenant General, the Count de *Bossue* was killed. The hopes of raising the Siege grew

Desperate, and at length the Town was rendred to the *French* (*Owen Roe ONeale*, afterwards General of the Province of *Ulster* for the Confederate Catholicks in *Ireland*, Commanded within.) The blame of not Succouring this place was laid on *Don Philip de Silva* General of the Horse under the Prince Cardinal. He was afterwards made Prisoner in *Spain* on Suspicion, as having betrayed the undertaking; but was after released, laying the fault on the first Minister then Governing that Monarchy under King *Philip* IV. as having done all by his orders, being the *Conde Duke*.

Having seen this Action I returned for *England* and sate in Parliament till the cutting off of the Earl of *Strafford*, and then I went for *Ireland*, where I had some Estate. And whilst I was there, broke forth the Rebellion of 1641. which kept me in War and Trouble till the Peace of 1646. as hath been seen. Then I went for *France*.

Coming

Coming to *Paris*, and hearing that *Landrisie* was Besieged by the Arch-Duke *Leopoldus*, Governor of the *Low Countreys*, and that a *French* Army was gone to the Succour, I had the curiosity to see that Action. So I bought Horses and followed. Being come to the Army, in two or three days after we imbattelled before the Line, and so near, that the Enemies Cannon killed many men and horses in our Lines. I was in the first Line, a right-hand man in Prince *Ruperts* Troop, Commanded by Captain *Somerset Fox*, the Prince serving as Lieutenant General. Now it beginning to be dark, all were fitted for attacking the Line; and just as we expected the word to advance and fall on, we had orders to retreat in the silentest manner possible without the least touch of Drum or Trumpet. However the Enemy discovering it, came out, and did us some mischief in the Rear, and would have done more, if Prince *Rupert* that Commanded them, had not acted his part well.

By what I could hear as cauſe of this ſudden change, the two Marſhals, *Gaſtion* and *Ranſo*, that Commanded, could not agree on the work they had in hand.

I returned from *Paris*, and remainned there, attending the *Queen* and Prince of *Wales* Orders (who were at St. *Germains*) till the year 1648. then I went for *Ireland* with the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant, Serving the King againſt the *Nuncio*, *Council*, and other his Majeſties Enemies, till 1651. after the Battel of *Worceſter* loſt, and *Cromwell* Conqueror of the three Kingdoms, and the King fled into *France*, whither I followed, and with his Majeſties leave, engaged in the Prince of *Conde*'s Service (then joyned with the *Spaniards*) firſt, for a Troop of *Gens d' Arms*; ſoon after for a Regiment of Horſe; but neither were ever mounted tho I had the men ready in *Paris*, as was ordered. Whilſt I was thus, I came ſoon enough to the Rampart to ſee ſome part of the Fight in the Suburbs

burbs of St. *Anthony*, which began early in the morning *July* 2. 1652. The King of *France* looking on from the Hill of *Saronne*. The Prince of *Conde* hardly had time to Baracado the Avenues where he was attacked by *Monſieur de Jurain* commanding the Kings Army, with a Force much greater than his; the Fight was very bloudy, and had been fatal to the *Confederates*, had not the activity, beſides the Valor and Conduct of this brave Prince prevented it by riding from *Barrier* to *Barrier*, where his men were moſt preſſed; thus he entertained the Fight till about noon, that by means of *Madamoiſſelle d' Orleans*, the Gate of St. *Anthony* was opened for their Retreat into the City. After this the Confederates had all freedom in *Paris* till about the twelfth of *October* 1652. The Prince of *Conde*, Duke of *Lorain*, and the reſt of the Confederates left *Paris* and that night came to their Army at *Dammartin*, and took their March towards *Laſeite*, *Moline*, and *Fines*. I marched

marched with them, tho as a ſingle man.

The firſt Place the Prince of *Conde* took (theſe Troops joyned) was *Ratele*, which he Beſieged *Octob.* 27. 1652. took the out-works the twenty eighth, the Town the twenty ninth, and the Caſtle *Novemb.* 2. The Governor Monſieur *Rale*, *Chaſteau Porſine* was Beſieged at the ſame time, Yielded *Octob.* 28. making little reſiſtance; then St. *Menehout* was Inveſted, the Prince of *Conde* and Duke of *Lorain* Commanding, and Rendred *November* 13. 1652. St. *Maurs* Commander. This place coſt dear both in men and time by the miſtake of the true attack, which diſcovered, and the Batteries changed, did not reſiſt 12 hours.

About this time the Duke of *Orlean's* Troops left us, the Duke having made his Peace.

November 23. 1652. the Prince took *Barleduke* after ſome days Siege, and a Breach made, Monſ. de *Fouge* Leiut. General of the *Lorain* Army was

was there killed with a Muſquet-ſhot, viewing the Breach. *Comercy* Caſtle and Town about the ſame time was Surrendred to the Prince without much trouble.

The Caſtle of *Voyd* after ſome days Siege was Yielded *December* 9. to the Prince.

Now the Marſhal *de Turenne* having gotten a good Army together, came near us, and Beſieged *Barleduke*, which in a few days he regained; and whilſt this was doing Surprized the Town of *Comercy*, where my ſelf with many others were taken Priſoners; but the Count *de Fieſque*, who Commanded, being in the Caſtle maintained it. Monſieur *Marole* Governor of *Tunvile* who did this Feat, the next day brought me to the Quarters of Monſieur *de la Ferte*, who gave me leave on my Parole to viſit the Duke of *Yorke* in the Quarter of Monſieur *de Turenne*. His Royal Highneſs at my Requeſt got me to be exchanged, ſo I returned to the Prince, and the Officer exchanged went to the

the Marſhal *de la Ferte*, of whoſe Army he was, this Campaigne ended with our having taken *Veruience* after a Breach made which was the twenty ninth of *January* 1652.

April 23. 1653. The Prince of *Conde* arrived in *Bruxels*, and was Lodged in the Palace. The Campaigne following *Septem.* 5. 1653. We Beſieged *Roeroy*, the Seventh the Line of Circumvallation was begun, and finiſhed the twelfth; the Trenches opened the eleventh; the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Germans* had each an attack; the twenty ſecond the three Nations were lodged on the Counterſcarp. Sharp Sallies were made, with ſome loſs to the Beſiegers; however they held their ground, and faſtned a Miner to one of the Baſtions which Mine was ready to ſpring the twenty ſixth. The next night the Mine was ſprung, and a Breach made in the face of the Baſtion, ſomething too near the point; however our People lodged themſelves, and the Enemy retrenched in the Baſtion; but not being able to make

make it good, the Gariſon much weakned with the loſs of men killed and hurt, *October* 1. 1653. the place was rendred. I never knew Bombs annoy any place ſo much as this. From the firſt day of this Siege to the laſt, nothing but Rain, with ill weather; and that which was worſe; the Prince of *Conde* deſperately ſick all the time: However tho he lay in his bed, nothing of conſequence was done but by his advice; tho the *Arch-Duke Leopoldus* Commanded in Chief: the Governor of the place was the Chevalier *Montague*, who as I remember was brought out wounded: The Duke of *Lorain*'s Troops, Commanded by the Count of *Luniville*, aſſiſted in this Siege; at which the Duke ſeemed to be ill pleaſed, for he was angry with *Luniville*, and rebuked him ſeverely.

February 26. 1654. The Duke of *Lorain* being in *Bruxels*, and his Army near the Town, was arreſted by the Count *de Garriſie*, Maſter de Gamp General, ſo ordered by the Arch-Duke

Duke *Leopoldus*, and conveyed to the Caſtle of *Antwerp*: But prince *Francoys* of *Lorain*, being at *Vienna*, was ſent for, which appeaſed the Officers, eſpecially when he arrived at *Bruxels*, which was the ninth of *May* following. All this time, beſides the quality of Marſhal de Camp, I had the particular Command of nine or ten Regiments of *Iriſh*, making 5000 men; and the Campaign coming on, the Prince ordered me to make a detachment of 1000 of the choiceſt men I had dividing them into Fifties, Commanded by Lieutenants; only one Fifty might have a Captain, and then to deliver them to the Count de *Briole*, Marſhal de Camp, which I did, tho with much murmur of the Colonels, and other Officers, concluding never to ſee their men again, which fell out true, being to be ſent as far off as to *Clermont*, *Steny*, and other places.

Next Campaign began with the King of *France*'s Beſieging *Steny* which he did *June* 9. 1654. The

Spani-

Spaniards thought to raiſe his Siege by attacking another place, and Beſieged *Arras*, inveſting it the third of *July* 1654. Monſieur *Moudieux* Governor; the Lines of Circumvallation finiſhed the ninth, not ſo large by two Leagues as when the *French* took it; the twelfth or thirteenth the Trenches were opened; tho the Chevalier *de Crequi* with ſome hundreds of Horſe had entred the Town. The ſixth or ſeventh of *July* ſome other attempts were made to put in Succour, but none hit to any purpoſe. It is certain our Army was no way provided or ſufficient for the work, to Man ſo large a Line, and furniſh the attacks; which were two; one the *Spaniards*, the other the Prince of *Conde's*. The *Lorainers* Commanded by Prince *Francoys* had no attack. The ground was ſuch that the Ditch of the Line in moſt places could hardly be made of any depth; to ſupply which defects eight or ten roes of great holes were made before it, with Stakes like Palliſads beaten into them.

Whilſt

Whilſt we were now carrying on our attacks, with much art and Valour, Monſieur *de Turenne* with a ſmall Army Poſted himſelf at *Montriporeux*, and *Vittry* about a League from our Line, almoſt in the way to *Doway*; from whence much of our Proviſions and other things came. But when *Steny* was Yielded, being *Auguſt* 6. the Count *de Camillie* Governor and the Marqueſs *de Fabert* Commanding the Army that took it; the King with this Army Marched and Poſted himſelf near Mount S. *Aloye*, not far from our Line, ſo that in truth we were in a manner now Beſieged, but quickly put out of our pain. For ſoon after being the 24*th.* or 25*th.* of *Auguſt*, an hour before day our Line was Alarm'd round, attacked really in two or three places, and forced in a ſhort time. Thus *Arras* was relieved, and our Army retreated to *Cambray*. After this *Quency* yielded to the *French*, ſo this Field ended. I do not remember any thing remarkable that paſſed in the year 1655. but the 15*th.* of *June* 1656.

1656. Mounſieur *de Turenne* inveſted *Valencennes*; to the Succour of which *Don John* Governor of the *Low-Countrys*, having gotten his Army together Marched; the Prince of *Conde* with his Army joyned, they poſted themſelves the firſt of *July* at *Farmars*, a League from the Town, (and very near the Enemies Line) where they Intrenched. *June* 28. the *French* opened their Trenches with two attacks from the two Armies, of *Turenne* and *la Ferte*. Much ſcuffling there was at this Siege between the Town and the Enemy, many brave Sallies were made and as gallanty oppoſed, ſeveral Works taken by the *French*, and regained by the Gariſon. The Governor, the Duke *de Burnaville* cauſed Sluces to be opened, which raiſed waters in the Enemies Camp, and much hindred the Communication between the two Amies of *Lorain* and *la Ferte*; till one morning before day, being *July* 16. *Don John* and the Prince of *Conde* fell on the Enemies Line, Alarming it on

all ſides, and where they attacked it really entred, tho it coſt much blood on both ſides, many Priſoners were taken of the *French*, one of which was the Marſhal *de la Ferte*; *Valencienne* thus relieved.

July 21. 1656. The *Spaniards* and Prince of *Conde* Inveſted *Conde*, Monſieur *de Paſſage* Governor; *Auguſt* 8. they finiſhed their Line of Circumvallation, and the place being vigorouſly attacked, was Rendered *Aug.* 17. Here ended this Campaigne.

The next Field was begun by the ſame Prince and Army, beſieging St. *Gilaine March* 16. 1652. Monſieur *de Chomburge* Governor; the Story is not worthy to be remembred for the place was betrayed by ſome of the Gariſon, and ſo Rendered *March* 22. Soon after, being *May* 20. 1657. The Marſhal *de Turenne* Inveſted *Cambray*, and took his Poſts for the Siege, but the Prince of *Conde* being at *Boſeu*, near *Monts*, marched immediately with 4000 Horſe, and the 29*th.* in the Evening came near the

the Enemys Camp; the next morning an hour before day fell on Monſieur *de Turenne*'s Quarters, broke through into the Town and relieved it: However, the *French* loſt no Courage, but the 26*th.* of *Auguſt* following Beſieged S. *Venant*, and about the ſame time *Don John*, the Duke of *York*, and Prince of *Conde* Beſieged *Ardares*; and for the better diſpatch, the 28*th.* they made a general Aſſault, taking all the outworks and faſtned Mines to the Walls in three places. But St. *Venant* yielding ſooner than was expected, the Princes were forced to raiſe their Siege.

Mardike was Beſieged by the *French*, *September* 29. 1657. and taken in five days.

The next Campaign began *May* 14. 1658. When the Marſhal *d' Aumont*, attempting to gain *Leſtend* by Intelligence and Surpriſal, was taken himſelf in his own Net. The particular Relation is pleaſant; but it having been often printed, I'll let it alone; now tho this Marſhal of *France* fell into

this misfortune, Monſieur *de Turenne* did abundantly recover the Honour. For the 24*th.* of *May* 1658. he Beſieged *Dunkirk*. *Don John*, the Duke of *York*, and Prince of *Conde*, with all the Force they could make, came to the Succour, and it ſeems, with confidence that *Turenne* durſt not appear without his Line, for otherwiſe they would not have come near ſo ill provided, moſt of their Horſe being gone to Forrage, or ſcattered up and down, and their Cannon not arrived. But Monſieur *de Turenne* failed them; for knowing they came from *Furnes*, he marched to meet them. On the *Downs* thus they encountred the fourteenth of *June* 1658. and after much fighting the honour of the Field remained to the *French*. Yet the Town held ſtoutly tho the Succors were beaten; for it never Capitulated till the 14*th.* of *July*, that their brave Governor, the *Marqueſs de Lede* was wounded mortally, of which he died; ſo the Town yielded the ſame day.

The

The *French* being in this humor of Conquering, Monſieur *la Ferte* Beſieged *Graveling* the 27*th* or 28*th*. of *July* 1658. it Capitulated the 28*th*. of *Aug*. and was Rendered the next day.

Soon after this the Prince *de Lione*, General of the Horſe for the King of *Spain*, his Army being Routed near *Ipres*, he with part of his Horſe ſaved themſelves into the Town, on which the *French* Beſieged them, and in 4 or 5 days the Town was yielded being *Septemb*. 24. the Prince and Gariſon as I think remaining Priſoners of War.

Octob. 27. 1658. The *French* took *Comines*, which made ſome reſiſtance.

Now a ſuſpenſion of Arms concluded *May* 9. 1659. being followed with the *Pyrenean* Peace Signed *Novemb*. 7. 1659. put an end to the War which had ſo long raged.

From this time there was no more War in this part of the World, till the King, after his Reſtauration, brake with the *Hollanders*, and much fighting there was at Sea; in ſome of which I have been, tho but a Voluntier.

tier. Thus, and following the Court I passed my time till the year 1667. that the *French* Invaded *Flanders*, the Marquess of *Castle-Roderigo* Governor. Thither by his Majesties Command I went with 2400 men, a Recruit for the old *English* Regiment, of which I was made Colonel; and about *June* 15. 1667. with some of them Landed at *Ostend*, the rest soon following. These men were immediately thrown into Towns, as *Newport*, *Lille*, *Courtrey*, *Audenard*, &c. But before my coming the King of *France* had seized *Armentiers*, *Charleroy*, *Bergen*, St. *Winoke*, *Feurnes*, *Aeth*; and in four or five days after took *Tournay* which resisted three days. Till about this time the *Spaniards* did not know themselves absolutely to be in War; for their Troops often met the *French*, and parted as Friends. Then Monsieur *de Turenne* Besieged *Doway July* 1. had it the 6th. *July* 18. 1667. *Courtrey*, with the Citadel was taken by the *French*, having made some resistance, but *Audenard*

nard at the ſame time made little or none.

Aug. 5. The King of *France* having for ſome days attempted the taking of *Dixmond*, left it after the loſs of many men, as reported: But the King ſoon after Beſieged *Lile*, opened the Trenches before it *Auguſt* 19. It yielded the 27*th.* after moſt of the out-works taken; the Count *de Broy* Governor.

Now the Count *de Marcine*, Maiſter de Camp General for the King of *Spain*, was at this time in *Ipres* with a conſiderable Body of Horſe, and ſome Foot, of which I had 6 or 700 of my Regiment, he pretending to Succour *Lile*. But on the news of its Rendition he marched away with all his Horſe, hoping to Recover *Gaunt*, but whether by reaſon of the ill ways and foul weather or other hindrances, came ſhort; for the *French* Horſe and Dragoons were gotten before him, and Encamped near *Mary-kirk*, not far from the Town, on *Hollands* ſide of the cut River that goes between *Gaunt*

and *Bruges*; and the last of *August* early in the morning) having no right Intelligence of the Enemy) fell in amongst the *French* Horse. Thus surprised and marching on Dikes, he was enforced to fight for it, and as men catched, in this manner, after some dispute, was Routed, many of his Men and Officers killed and taken prisoners, himself narrowly escaping. The *French* thus encouraged fell on *Alost*, midway between *Bruxels* and *Gaunt*, and being assaulted, it was Rendered *Septemb.* 9. or 10. 1667.

Now to save what was left of the *Low-Countries*, there was no other Remedy, (for Army we had none) but by the mediation of the Neighbour Princes to gain a suspension of Arms, published *March* 6. 1668. and was to hold till the last of the Month; then there was a second Suspension of Arms, which began the 15*th.* of *April* following, and was to last to the end of *May*. But the Peace of *Aix la Chapell* concluded on *May* 2. following, put an end to our trouble: for it cannot be called a War.

After

After this the Marques of *Castle-Roderigo* staid not long; but the Constable of *Castile* succeeded, in whose time all was quiet.

Since the peace of *Aix*, the *Spanish Netherlands* enjoyed a shew of quietness, till about *October.* 4. 1673. Then at a meeting between the Count *de Monterey*; Governor of the *Low-Countries*, and the Prince of *Orange*, at a Village near *Antwerp*, called *Galmethat*, within half a League of the Priory of *Huybergnen*, *Spain* was engaged in a new War against the *French*, both Parties seeming inclined to a Breach.

I do not know all the reasons, but for a long time each complained of Infractions: The *French*, that the *Spaniards* had assisted the Prince of *Orange* in his attempt for the Surprize of *Charleroy*, in which he failed, sent of their Troops to Man certain Towns belonging to the States of *Holland*, as *Bolduke*, *Berginopsome*, and other places; that their Troops were assisting the Prince of *Orange*, in the taking

king of *Narden* near *Amſterdam*, &c.

The *Spaniards* complained that the Kings Countries were eaten up and deſtroyed by the marching of *French* Troops through them, eſpecially when the King of *France* with his Army entred about *Bruges* and *Gaunt*, Marching at diſcretion, fearing no Enemy till he came to *Bruxels*, where he Encamped on all ſides ſeveral days. After this refreſhment he continued his March to *Maeſtricht*, which he Beſieged *June* 11. 1673. and took it the 30*th*. That the Prince of *Conde* had for ſeveral weeks lain with an Army, eating and deſtroying the Country of *Aloſt*.

Now on the breaking out of this new War, the Marſhal *de Belford*, who Commanded for the King of *France* in *Holland*, had order to draw all his Forces thence, and March to *Maeſtricht*.

This alarm'd the Count *de Montery*, fearing that he would take *Ruremond* in his way. So he ſent me to Command there, being General *de Battle*.

But

But the Marſhall ſpared me, and picked up *Erklanes*, a ſmall Town two Leagues from me ſeated on the *Rore*; being paſſed, he joyned the Prince of *Conde* near *Maeſtricht*, and alarm'd *Stevenſwert*, a regular place and tenable, when there is no want within it; I in an hours time received two Orders from the Count *de Montery*, brought by two reform'd Officers, ſent expreſs, requiring me on ſight to march with the Count of *Mansfield* and 500 of the *Germans*, in Gariſon with me, and to endeavour the getting into *Stevenſwert*, where I was to Command, and if I were worſted in the Attempt, to ſave my ſelf, and ſuch as remained after the fight to *Venlow*. I received theſe Orders as I was at Dinner, about one of the Clock, and got into the place with my men by ſix of the Clock that Evening, tho it were three or four Leagues, for the place was not Inveſted, as the Count *de Montery* thought; however, theſe Armies kept us in doubt four or five days, till at length the Prince of *Conde* having taken

taken the Caſtle of *Argento*, they Beſieged *Newliny*, *May* 20. 1674. a Fort belonging to the King of *Spain*, on the River *Meux*, Seated between *Liege* and *Maeſtricht*. It was Rendered *May* 23. After this the Prince of *Conde* having trifled ſome time in Marching up and down came with his Army to *Pieton*, a ſtrong Poſt in its nature by reaſon the meeting of the two Rivers of *Samber* and *Pieton*; but withal he was ſtrongly intrenched, and had much Cannon on his Batteries, and Cavaliers.

About the 15*th*. of *July* 1674. *Dinant* with the Caſtle was Surprized by the Imperialiſts, Commanded by the Count *de Souch*; and *July* 22. following they paſſed the *Meux* near *Namurs* to joyn the Prince of *Orange*, and other the Confederates. Now all being together, after ſeveral Campings they came to *Nivell*, hoping to draw the Prince of *Conde* from his Entrenchments to a fair Battel, ſhewing themſelves in Battel before him. Several days paſſed thus. Then they march'd from *Nivell Aug*. 9.

and

and the next day Encamped at *Seneff*, *Jeluy*, and other places thereabouts. All this while the Enemy never appeared, tho by coming near many occaſions were offered. Seeing nothing could prevail, *Aug.* 11. 1674. the Prince of *Orange*, with the Confederates, very early in the Morning marched off, intending to Encamp between *Marymont* and *Binch*. But being to paſs within a little League of the Enemys Camp, they made a detachment of 5000 Horſe and Dragoons, for the better Security of the Rear. In the March the *Imperialiſts* had the Van-guard, the *Hollanders* the Battel, the *Spaniards* conſiſting of ſixteen Squadrons of Horſe; The Rear-guard now having marched ſome time in this Manner, about ten or eleven of the Clock in the Morning, being *Saturday*, the Enemy began to appear, attacking the River, and though well diſputed, carried all before them for ſome hours, till the *Germans* turned, and joyned with ſome of the *Holland* Army not broken, gave a ſtop

ſtop to this furious beginning, and brought it to a bloudy Battel. Both ſides bragged of Victory, tho neither had much cauſe. The Fight ended *Sunday* morning, and that night the Confederates Encamped where they were to have been the night before. And the Prince of *Conde* returned to his Retrenchment at *Pieton.*

The Prince of *Orange* being a Stranger and having left himſelf and Army to be guided by a General that pretended to know the Country, was brought ſo near the Prince of *Conde*'s retrenchment, that in going off his Rear was expoſed, and ſo accordingly it was attacked. But next day after the Battel, the Prince complained much, and fell very heavy on the General who adviſed this March; but it was too late.

Theſe were the moſt powerful Armies that had been ſeen in *Flanders* theſe many years. I believe the Confederates did much paſs in number, tho the Prince of *Conde*'s Army in moſt mens Judgments exceeded For-

ty

ty thouſand Horſe and Foot. The report of the Slain and Wounded is various, but they may be taken at eight or ten thouſand of both ſides. I know not which loſt moſt; but the quality exceeded the number. Amongſt many other brave men were ſlain the Marqueſs *de Aſſentar*, Maſter de Camp General for the *Spaniards*, and Sir *Walter Vane* Major General; Serving the *Hollanders*.

The Prince of *Orange* after this Battel of *Seneff* loſt no time, for *September* 17. following he had formally Beſieged *Audenard* (the Sieur *de Roſpaine* Governor) and having much advanced his Trenches, had notice of the Prince of *Conde*'s approach, with his Army increaſed, the Marſhal *de Humers* having joyned to him 8 or 10000 men. On this the Confederates drew moſt of their men out of the Attacks, but remained within the Line until the next morning, and then with the favour of a dark miſt quitted all, left the Siege, and got to *Gaunt*, I know not how, but certainly

certainly in great confusion, after the loss of many men. Much blame was laid on the Count *de Souch*; whether he were faulty or no, he soon with his Army return'd for *Germany*, and the Prince of *Orange* posted for *Grave* (long Besieged by General *Ravenholt*, a *Holland* Commander) and took it about *October* 22. 1674. the Army of the States General left *Flanders*, and returned to their Country.

The King of *France* began his Campaign the year 1675. with the Siege of *Limburg*. The Prince of *Orange* and Duke of *Villa-Hermosa*, then Governor of the *Low Countrys*, assembled their Armies near *Levain*, and Marched in all hast to its Succour, tho in miserable weather. They passed the *Meuse* at *Roermond*; but before they could arrive at the Enemies Camp, the place was yielded *June* 20. after a very good defence, the Prince of *Nassaw* Governor of it, and the Province.

The

The Army of the Confederates much ſhattered, and in diſorder with ſo terrible a March, being returned to *Aerſcot* Encamped there, and near about for a long time, till being well refreſhed and recovered, they began their March towards *Monts*; and *Binch*, without the Armies coming to it, yielded to a Party, ſent by the Prince of *Orange*, *Aug.* 31. 1975.

The Campaign of the year 1676. began with the King of *France*'s Beſieging *Conde*, which he did *April* 19. The Prince of *Orange*, the Duke *de Villa-hermoſa*, Marched to its Succor, but coming near found it rendered, the 25*th.* of the ſame Month, not being able to reſiſt longer the ſeveral Aſſaults the *French* made.

The King of *France* not contenting himſelf with *Conde*, ſent his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Marſhal *de Crequi* to Beſiege *Bouchain*, which they did, *May* 5. 1676. and the King to cover the Siege Encamped at *Keverine* facing towards *Monts*; the River before him. On this Intel-

ligence ſome days after, the Prince of *Orange* and Duke *de Villa-Hermoſa*, being with their Army Encamped near *Monts*, Marched, and on Bridges of Boats, before day, paſſed *L'Eſcaulte*, within *Cannon* ſhot of *Conde*, leaving it on the left hand; and not loſing time, about ten or eleven of the Clock that Morning, being *May* 9. gained the height between *Valenciennes* and the Abbey of *Bone Eſperance*. But coming there, we found the King of *France* on a height Embattelling his Army before us, about half a League diſtant, all plain between the two Armies, and juſt in the way between us and *Bouchain*, ſo near we were, that the Cannon killed from one Army to the other. Thus poſted, thoſe that were not of the Great Council thought of nothing but immediately to fall on, and I my ſelf was one of thoſe; for it being my fortune that Campaigne to Command the King of *Spain*'s Foot, I made many Speeches to them, preparing them to Battel, fitting them with Powder, and all things

things needful. But the day paſt, we lay by our Arms all night, and in the morninghad orders to encamp, throwing up a Line before us, *Bouchain* (Monſieur *Drouhte* Governor) ſeeing this Succour did its part; but at laſt, being over-preſſed, the place yielded the 12*th.* or 13*th.* of *May*; yet the King, at the head of his Army, ſtood facing us five or ſix days more till *Bouchain* was put in Order, and all Lines and Trenches levelled. Then the 19*th.* of *May*, before day, after his Drums and Trumpets had done their parts, he Marched off from his Camp at the Farm of *Hurtisbe*, and that night Encamped near *Bouchain*; the next day march'd for *Doway*. Theſe were great Armies, each counted at leaſt 50000 men; but what ever they were I am aſſured they were not leſſned by ſo long lying near Neighbors.

After this the Prince of *Orange* Marched from his Camp of *Mon d' Anſin* near *Valencennes* *May* 21. and after ſeveral Campments came to *Nivelle*, from whence the 8*th.* of

July with a Detachment of his Army and ſome others that met him, the 11th. or 12th. of *July* he Inveſted *Maeſtricht*, the 19th. the Lines of Circumvallation were finiſhed, and the 20th. he began to make uſe of his Cannon, opening his Trenches by two attacks, one was the Biſhop Prince of *Oſnaburg*'s; the other the Prince of *Orange*'s own; *Wick*, on the other ſide of the *Meuſe* was not attacked. Now whilſt this Siege was carrying on, the Duke *de Villa-hermoſa* marched with the Army of *Holland* and his own the 26th. of *July* to *Marykirk* near *Gaunt*, and *Aire* having been Beſieged for ſome days by the Marſhal *de Humiers*, the Duke Marched to *Deinſe*, where he heard that the Fort *Link* was taken, and ſoon after *Aire*. The cauſe given why this ſtrong place held out no better is, that a Magazine of powder blew up by ſome accident; on which the Burgers (more ſtrong than the Gariſon) ſeized the Governor, the Marqueſs *de Warny*, and compelled him to demand a Treaty.

This

This having broken the Duke's Measures, for he design'd to have ventured for the Succor of *Aire*, his Excellency Marched immediately, following the Count *de Waldike*, who was gone before him with the *Holland* Army, and Encamped between *Lovain* and *Bruxels*, his Excellence Encamped near *Mechlir*; but *Aug.* 20. he left his Camp, and in some days both the Armies came to *Tongres*; and soon after appeared the Van of the *French* Army, so that he had no more time than to call a Council of War, where having heard the relation, given by Count *de Waldike* newly come from the Siege, not being above two Leagues distance, unanimously all gave their opinions for the present raising the Siege, and that the Duke and *Waldike* should let the Prince know so much: accordingly the next day the Siege was raised, the Enemy putting in Succor.

The Prince then drawing off, all our Enemies being joyned, were put in Battel on a height, about half a

League from the Line. But Monſieur *de Schomberg* having relieved the place marched another way, and Encamped that night on the Hill of St. *Peters*. I was in the Trenches before the Siege was raiſed; but did not judge the Town ſo preſs'd as was generally ſaid, without it had ſome want within, that I knew not; for there were many hard Pieces to be gained before Miners could be faſtned to the Wall, or any attackable breach made with Cannon. This was by much the bloodieſt Siege that ever I ſaw. The *Reingrave*, with a great part of the men that made the Princes Court, were killed, and more hurt; the Prince himſelf ſhot in the Arm; all the Regiments ſtrangely diminiſhed; the Cannon was loſt; for coming from *Holland* by the River of *Meux*, when it was pretty full, now it being much fallen, it could not be brought off. By what I ſaw of the Line of Circumvallation, I would rather have choſen to fight in a plain field than behind it; for it was not of ſtrength ſuffici-

ſufficient; neither was the Army of Force to Man it, and go on with their attacks, without the Prince had drawn into his Line the Army Commanded by the Duke *de Villa-hermoſa* and *Waldike*. That poſſibly might have changed the Scene, tho the Communication would have been very hard, between them of *Wick*-ſide, with thoſe before *Maeſtricht*, becauſe of the River *Meuſe*, which above and below muſt have been paſſed on Bridges of Boats: From the firſt of the Siege I never heard the Gariſon counted at leſs than five or ſix thouſand men. I ſhall not venture to give a Judgment of the men killed and wounded; but certainly the number was great. The dividing the Army was in my opinion ill adviſed, neither party being of ſtrength to do the work deſigned for it, whereas united it might have either carried *Maeſtricht*, or hindred the taking any other place. And for all the Princes expoſing himſelf and Army to the uttermoſt of danger, yet ſome there

were that did not afford him a good word, but the Contrary. After the raiſing this Siege the Prince of *Orange* ſought by all means to engage the *French* in a Battel; yet about *Sep.* 7. 1675. Monſieur *Schomberge* paſſed the River of *Mahaine* in the view of our right wing uninterrupted, but the Prince was in the left Wing near a League diſtance, and hardly knew any thing till all was paſt. About three days after, the Prince and Duke *de Villa-Hermoſa* Incamped the Army about *Giblow*, the quarter of the Court in the Town, and Monſieur *de Schomberge* with his Army, about a League from us, in a faſt Country, but very great Plains juſt before him. The next morning early the Prince put his Army in Battel on this Plain, in ſight and very near the Enemy, but *Schomberge* ſtirred not. Now after ſome hours, wearied with ſtanding, the Prince with his Army marched off, leaving the *Spaniards* and *Germans* in the Rear; which ſoon after that began to move,

Monſieur

Monſieur *Montal*, with a great Body of Horſe and Dragoons marched through *Giblow*, from whence we parted, and fell on in the Flank and Rear, doing ſome miſchief, cauſing great confuſion among us. And had this Party been well ſeconded by Monſieur *Schomberge*, it might have proved a ſecond *Seneff*; for the Prince of *Orange* with his Army was far off, and many of his Horſes gone to Forrage. In a day or two after the Prince went for the *Hague*, and the Duke *de Villa-hermoſa* with *Waldike* Marched to *Wawer* in order to putting an end to the Field of 1676.

This year 1677. The Field opened with the Count *de Nancres* attacking the Fort, called the three holes near *Vilverde*, on the cut River that goes between *Bruxels* and *Antwerp*; but was beaten off the 24th. of *February*.

The 6th. or 7th. of *March*, *Valenciennes* was Beſieged by the King of *France*; he opened his Trenches the 9th. and the 17th. the Town was taken

taken by Surpriſe about nine of the Clock in the morning. The ſtory is ſtrange, for half an hour before this accident, and the 8th. day the Trenches opened the Enemy had not gained a foot of ground; the *French* entred by the Gates, which they found open, for the Governor, the Marqueſs of *Risburge*, a brave Soldier, was in his bed dangerouſly wounded, and the Town was Governed by a Council of War. Thus encouraged, the King Beſieged *Cambray* about the laſt of *March* following, and the third or fourth of *April* the Town yielded; after the Gariſon, by orders of the Governor, had killed all their Horſes, being as I have heard near 1000. then with the Governor they retired into the Cittadel, which was fiercely attacked; but the King having a mighty Force, divided his Army, and with one part his Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, Beſieged St. *Omers March* 28. 1677. On which the Prince of *Robeck*, Governor, ſent preſſing Letters to the Prince

Prince of *Orange* (then Encamped in the *Pais de Waſt* near *Gaunt*) to haſten to his Succor. The Prince of *Orange* on this, and his great zeal for the Service did what he could to put his Army in order, having none but his own with him; and the 11th. of *April*, after hard marching, coming to *Caſtles*, found the Duke of *Orleans* had quitted the Line to meet him, and was in Battel before him. Then the two Armies engaged, and the Battel was well fought on both ſides for a long time; but the detachment ſent from *Cambray* by the King of *France* turned the Scales.

This, together with the Princes fighting on ground he knew not, and where he met with Rivers and Defiles or narrow ways that he never heard of, was the cauſe of his overthrow.

Soon after this, *April* 17. the Citadel of *Cambray* was rendered, Don *Pedro de Saval* Governor of it and the Town: and St. *Omers* about the 28th. of *April* following was likewiſe rendered.

This

This did not abate the Courage of the Prince of *Orange*; for *Aug.* 4. following (almoſt in the view of as good an Army as that he Commanded) he Beſieged *Charleroy*, a place ſeated on the River *Sambre*, ſtrong by nature, and Fortified with all art imaginable, a Gariſon of four or five thouſand men, a brave Governor, the Count *de Montal*, no want within, but rather abundance of every thing; very hard to make a good Line of Circumvallation, for beſides the Rockineſs of the Ground, one part of it muſt be commanded by a hill, that could not be ſecured but by an Army without, near as ſtrong as any that might come for the Relief; a great wood that runs ſeveral Leagues in length, and in breadth near half a League, joyns to this Line; thro this there are great Ways or Lanes cut, where two or three Squadrons might march in Breaſt: but the Stumps and ſome fallen Trees remain ſtill, ſo that Horſe or Man could hardly paſs but in paths; the place not attackable

ble but on one ſide, and by reaſon of the *Sambre* that runs by it, which muſt be paſſed by Bridges of Boats, the communication very difficult. Thus the Prince lay Beſieging this place, whilſt the Duke *de Villa-hermoſa* with an Army was encamped on the ſaid Hill, till the Duke of *Luxemburgh* came with his Army, and encamped within little more than Cannon-ſhot of the Wood, in a great Plain, over againſt our Camp, I mean that Camp Commanded by the Duke *de Villa-hermoſa*, who lay without the Line, for the defence of the mentioned Hill: On this Campment of the Duke of *Luxemburgh* many Councils of War were held by the great ones of the Confederates: The Duke *de Villa-hermoſa*, and the *Spaniſh* Generals were for paſſing the Wood, and engaging the Enemy. But the Prince of *Orange* and his Generals judged it not feiſable, and further, impoſſible to ſucceed with the work in hand, this powerful Army ſo near. Whereupon the Prince reſolved to raiſe the Siege,

Siege, which he did in good order *Aug.* 14. 1678. The reaſon given by the Chief Confederate Generals for adviſing or conſenting to this Siege of *Charleroy*, is, that for many days both Armies had been encamped near together in the Country of *Aloſt*; but the *French* could not be brought to a Battel. Now the Confederates finding themſelves very ſtrong, fell on this deſign, hoping to gain their end in Beſieging this important place, by the Enemies coming to its Succour. This might hold pretty well if the Confederates had purſued their point, when the *French* came as they could wiſh. For the Duke of *Luxemburgh* with his Army paſſed the *Sambre* at *La Buſiere*, and ſo kept on his March till he came to the Encampment near the Wood, which took up at leaſt two days; in all which time he could not well have avoided fighting, if the Confederates had ſought it, by Marching to meet them. This failure is hard to be excuſed. Much blame was laid on the Prince of *Orange*

Orange for not passing the Wood, and attacking the *French* in their Camp, which if he had done, according to all reasons of War, he had lost his Army, for the *French* would never have given him time to have put his Army in Battel, but fought him by piecemeals as he appear'd out of the Wood. Besides, his Battalions and Squadrons must needs have been disordered in their March through the Wood. The Generals that were for Fighting, alledged that the *French*, by reason of a little River before them were so Encamped that their right Wing could not succour their left. But such an Encampment is hardly credible, it being in a great plain where they had choice of Encampment. It was further given out, and spoken publickly, that the Prince raised the Siege on some Letter or Message the King of *England* sent him, and brought by the Earl of *Ossory*. Now, to my own knowledge, and to the view of all the Army, the Earl of *Ossory* came to the Prince some days before *Charleroy*

was

was Inveſted, ſo that this Meſſage or Letter might have prevented the Siege rather than to have raiſed it. Beſides, if the King of *England*, moved by intereſt of State, ſhould have ſent ſuch Letter or Meſſage, is it to be imagined that he would have imployed the Earl of *Oſſory*, who was one of the braveſt men of his time, and, if he had a fault, too fond of Glory? Thus you ſee in what ill ſtation the Prince of *Orange* was.

As we return'd from this Siege the 24th. of this Month, *Binch* fell into our hands, and in a day or two after we took *la Buthire*, but with ſome ſhot of Cannon.

Soon after this, *Septemb.* 10. the Duke of *Luxemburgh* attacked the Fort, called the *Three Holes*, near *Vilvoid*. The attack began about ten in the morning, and the night ended it; there were not in it above ſixty men, Commanded by one Captain *Carpenter*; he and they got much honour, and the *French* went off with loſs of ſome men.

The

The Prince of *Orange* being in *England* or at the *Hague*, I know not whether, the Marſhal *de Humiers* Beſieged St. *Guilain*. The Duke *de Villa-hermoſa*, now Commanding in chief, for Monſ. *Waldike*, with the *Holland* Army, was to obey his Orders, marched for its Succor; but coming in ſight, found the place yielded, or treating, it being the 10th. or 11th. of *December*. The *French* reſolving to give little reſt, the King fell on *Gaunt* the 9th of *March* 1678. and had it the 18th. the Caſtle held out two days more. The reaſon that *Gaunt* made little Reſiſtance, was, it had no Gariſon for ſo great a place; the Burgers did what was done.

The King from *Gaunt* marched to *Ipres*, it having been reſtored to the *Spaniards* upon the *Pyrenian* Peace, and Beſieged it, opening the Trenches before both Town and Cittadel the 18th. and 19th. of *March* 1678. And as it had a brave Governor, the Marqueſs *de Conflant*, ſo it was well defended; but being vigorouſly at-

tacked, the Cittadel good for nothing, and many things wanting in the Town, *March* 27. it was yielded.

The *French* left no ſtone unturned for gaining of places. For a Party ſent from *Maeſtricht* the 4th. of *May* 1678. in the night ſurprized *Leewe*, a very ſtrong and important place, not far from *Lovain*. Since the taking of St. *Guillian* by the *French*, *Monts* had been very cloſely blocked, and ſo much ſtreightned, that if not ſpeedily relieved, it muſt yield, having many wants within. On this the Prince of *Orange*, and Duke *de Villa-Hermoſa* reſolved to attempt its ſuccor: And having gotten a good Army together, marched, and arriving near *Soigne*, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* with his Army retired before them towards *Monts*; but coming within a League or thereabouts, Encamped himſelf on a large Heath, with the Valley of *Caſtio* before him, his back towards the Town. The Confederates coming near this Valley, and in full view of

of the Enemies Camp, the Valley only between the two Armies, the Prince of *Orange* put his Army in Battel on two Lines, the *Spaniſh* Forces had the right wing, the Duke *de Villa-hermoſa* commanding it; the Army of the States General the left, which the Prince of *Orange* Commanded.

Now before I ſpeak of the Fight, which was altogether in the Valley or on its edges, I muſt deſcribe the Valley. Of its length I ſaw no end but its breadth from one ſide to the other could not be leſs than a mile over, and of a great depth; in the bottom runs a little River, and the ſides of the Valley very ſteep, rocky, and full of wood; no way through it where more than Horſes may paſs one after another, and that by turnings and windings, the Abbey of St. *Denis* is ſeated in it, but ſo low, that it is not to be ſeen till you come over it. On the other ſide the River almoſt oppoſite to St. *Dennis*, comes in a neck of Land, all plain where the Enemy had a little Camp;

the old burnt Caſtle of *Caſtio* is about two miles from St. *Denis*, ſeated in the Valley, and on the ſame ſide, but on a height as high as the main Land, and very near the edge of the Valley; both theſe places on our ſide, but poſſeſſed by the Enemy.

The Fight began about one of the Clock after Dinner, with the Princes planting Cannon againſt thoſe Encamped on the advanced Neck of Land, and ſoon after fell on St. *Denis*, which was well manned, and had had many Battalions ſent from the Camp on the height and *French* Army to aſſiſt it, but St. *Denis* being of no ſtrength was quitted, and after much fighting the *French* Battalions retired to the height, the Prince's people purſuing, yet the fight continued, and bloody doings there was. About the ſame time the Duke *de Villa-hermoſa* fell on *Caſtio*, and after much reſiſtance, both from thoſe within and the ſeveral Battalions ſent from the *French* Army to its aſſiſtance, took it; yet the fight continued very warm in the

the Valley, ſupplyes of Battalions coming from both Armies to help theirs. Thus it held till towards the Evening. Then the *French* regained *Caſtio*, and their Battalions, under its covert, did not only advance to the edge of the Valley on our ſide, but formed two or three Battalions on the Plain. The Earl of *Offory*, who Commanded the Foot oppoſite to them, did what was poſſible to be done, with great killing on both ſides, loſing moſt of his Officers, either killed or wounded, and himſelf preſerved by his Arms. Whilſt this was acting, and the day almoſt ended, two or three Squadrons of *French* Horſe, ſent from the Army, croſſed the Valley, and coming up one after another between the Caſtle and their Battalions, on the ſudden, and not expected, fell on the Duke *de Villahermoſa's* Guards, killing one of their Captains, with ſeveral other Officers and Soldiers, putting the reſt in great diſorder. The *French* Horſe having done their work, and ſeeing more

Squadrons advancing towards them, they retired by the way they came; yet the fight continued till it was dark, and more than an hour after by the light of Houſes near *Caſtio*, fired by the *French*. But there being no more Houſes to burn, all was quiet, the *French* poſſeſſed of *Caſtio*, and the Battalions keeping their ground on the plain of our ſide, where moſt of the fighting had been. But about two or three hours after, Intelligence was brought that the *French* had not only quitted *Caſtio*, and drawn off their Battalions, but had left their Camp, and were marched towards *Monts*, and it was in great haſte, for they left ſome Tents, and other things behind.

The Earl of *Oſſory* in this afternoons work purchaſed to himſelf and noble Family immortal honor, Commanding the *Engliſh* as General in the *States* Service, and was as I believe the laſt man of all his Troops that came off the Field: for he was found by ſome of my Servants and brought

brought to me two ~~Horſes~~ after all was ended.

The Duke of *Monmouth* was all along in this Fight, and gained as much honor as was poſſible for a ſingle man, he being but a Voluntier. And I am apt to believe that if ſome Squadrons had charged as he deſired them, that the *French* Horſe that routed the Duke *de Villa-hermoſa*'s Guards, would have paſſed their times but ſcurvily in their retreats. His Friend and Companion Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* was ſhot in two or three places. It is hard to ſay what number of men were ſlain, or who loſt moſt. I judg them on both ſides to be about four or five thouſand killed and wounded; among which were a number of brave Officers.

The next day, being *Auguſt* 15. there was a ſuſpenſion of Arms, and ratified the 20th of the ſame Month. Thus with ſuſpenſion of Arms we continued, till the General Peace Signed at *Nimiguen Septem.* 17. with the Ratification of it the 21th.

of *Septemb.* 1678. put an end to the Wars, tho it was said and generally believed that the Generals of both sides had the Peace in their pockets when they Fought; at least they had sufficient ground to believe it concluded.

Observe that the several dates of time in this Appendix *are to be taken* Stilo Novo.

Observations.

Confederate Armies joyned and acting together, tho under one *Generalissimo* are not to be esteemed equal with the Army of any Prince Commanded by one General, if the Armies are near in strength and quality.

First, All Generals of the Army that composes this Confederate Body will expect to be consulted by the *Generalissimo*, in every undertaking, that nothing may be done without their consent.

Now the bringing together these Generals; as it takes up much time, so often there follows great debates; and

and whilſt this is doing, the Enemies Army paſſes a River or Defile, and ſometimes puts a Convoy into a place that needs it.

As for the Succouring a Town that is Beſieged where Expedition is required, there is no more compariſon in the ſpeedy Marching of theſe two Armies, than the Sailing of a ſingle Ship and a Fleet. For if any of theſe Generals do not cordially like the undertaking as ſeldom all do, tho they have in point of honor conſented, the Generals Army will come ſlowly to Rendezvouz, and then March with great Formality; drawing up at every turn, making many halts; and go over *Foot-Bridges* rather than through a Ford, where his men ſhall not be up to the knees, and might march ten abreaſt, and twenty other excuſes that I have ſeen. And many times theſe Generals do in a manner refuſe, the Orders of the *Generaliſſimo*; but ſtill cover it with ſome excuſes. Beſides, every General hath private Inſtructions from his own

own Prince. On this I conclude, that Princes Leagued ought to Act as much as poſſible with their Armies ſeparated.

Secondly, Wo be to that People, whoſe Country is Invaded and their Prince forced to bring in Foreign Aſſiſtance, far exceeding in force, what he hath of his own Troops. Theſe by what I have ſeen are worſe than Enemies, ſet killing aſide; for from theſe laſt they ſeek to ſave themſelves. But Auxiliaries pretend to give Safeguards, but when the Troops of another General comes, they ſlight this ſafeguard. Thus the people Refuged in Villages, Caſtles, and Cloiſters with all their ſubſtance, are caught in their Security; and ſometimes as I have known it, does not reſt with the loſs of what they have, but purſued by many Sacrileges and Rapes, ſparing neither Religious Women or others.

And the Army of the Country under the covert of theſe Strangers, being guides, do more Miſchief than the

the Strangers. And ſometimes this poor diſtreſſed Prince, upon preſſing occaſions, ſends his Orders to ſome one or more of theſe Generals to march, and they will make an excuſe, that they cannot get their men to it, till they have two or three months pay due to them, which muſt be ſent if he will be ſerved. Beſides this there are many examples, where theſe Auxiliaries have at length Conquered the Country they came to Succour, and kept it to themſelves.

Thirdly, The Security of an Army conſiſts much in the Generals having good intelligence as well to avoid ſurprizes as to take advantages when occaſions are offered; for there is no Army but ſometimes in Marching or Camping is expoſed to the Enemy, if they knew all and the time for taking their advantage.

Fourthly, A General whoſe condition is to ſeek fighting muſt be careful how he brings his Army too near the Enemy well poſted, without he comes with reſolution to force him in his Camp,

Camp, or that he can Encamp ſo by him at his eaſe as the Enemy muſt be enforced to march off before him. For otherwiſe, at his going off, he will run great risk of being dangerouſly attacted in the Flank, Rear, or both; eſpecially if it be where there are Defiles or Rivers.

Fifthly. A General that Marches with an Army for the Succour of a Town, Beſieged by another as great, or near as powerful as that which he Commands, if the Enemy on his approach draws off, and puts himſelf in Battel out of his way, or is Marching clear off, the General having gained his point, is not to take notice of him, but without loſing time to furniſh the wants of the Town, make up the Breaches, deſtroy the Lines and Trenches made by the Enemy. For if this General purſue and in fighting have the better, 'tis but ſome addition to his Glory; but if beaten, he loſes his Army, Town, and Honor: for an Enemy may be willing to fight having drawn off, which he dare

dare not do holding the Siege.

Sixthly. A General that fights an Army of which he knows the ſtrength, hath great advantage of another General that fights he knows not what, as it appeared in the Battel of *Caſtlet*. For the Duke of *Orleans* might know almoſt to a man, with what ſtrength the Prince of *Orange* could come; but the Prince of *Orange* could not know that of him, whilſt the King of *France* was ſo near, at the Siege of *Cambray*, who with his whole Army might have joyned the Duke of *Orleans* as eaſily as the Detachment did.

Seventhly. A General that hath his Magazines fully ſtored with all neceſſaries, and well placed in order to his deſign, having the advantage of Rivers, and no want of Wagons, may well Beſiege a Town ſeated near thoſe Rivers in all ſeaſons of the year, and with more advantage in the Winter, or rather in the Spring, before there be Forrage, than afterwards. For the Enemy that might be feared to March for the Succour muſt have time

time to bring his Army together, and then not having the conveniencies of Rivers be forced to bring all his Provisions by Land in Wagons. And it is almost impossible, if his Magazines and Country be far off, to supply his Army with Forrage, being to be brought at so great a distance. And if the Army with this Winter doing be weakned and shattered, the Sieges being over, and Forrage coming on, it will soon recover, or at least be able to make a defensive War, for the preservation of Towns that must be attacked in form, and then towards the latter end of the year being recruited and recovered act again.

8. An Army marching and making halts whilst ways are mending, or Bridges making, is not without apprehension, and danger, if the Enemy's Army be not far off. To avoid this, when the General hath taken his Resolution to march, and by what way, and on how many Colomes or Lines, he immediatly sends trusty and knowing Officers with a good

good Eſcourt of Horſe and Foot with Pioneers to mend, and make clear the ways for the March; and if there be Rivers, Boats for Bridges; then putting good guides with the Officer Commanding each Line, he marches without interruption. But great care is to be taken that the Lines march equal, and not too far aſunder, that ſo they may (in caſe of an Alarm) be found, or put eaſily in order of Battel.

9. Troops preſſed in Fight do incline much to croud in one upon another; ſo that if you have not Field room it is hard to untangle, and put them in order. In that caſe, ſometimes it may be wiſhed that half the number were away.

10. In Battels it ought to be held as an undoubted maxim of War, that a Wing of Horſe beating the Enemies oppoſite Wing, is not to move one Foot in the purſuit, but to keep its firſt order, and if the Rout be ſuch that the Enemies ought to be purſued, let it be done by Detachments

or

or commanded men, and if the Battel be gained, no plundring till all be ſecured.

I do not abſolutely reject Battels: for in ſome caſes they are to be ſought, and in others tho a General do not ſeek fighting, yet he muſt expoſe his Army to Battel, if the Enemy will. But certainly it is a matter of great conſideration, eſpecially when a Country is Invaded: for the loſs of a Battel is many times the loſs of a Kingdom. And let a General be never ſo great a Captain, having ranged his Army in the beſt manner, and given to his Officers all good Orders; yet when the Armies are once engaged, he can act little more than one mans part, and is ſubject by the failure of many others to be overthrown.

12. Towns are for the moſt part Beſieged becauſe of defects in their Fortifications, or wants within, as Men, Ammunition, or Proviſions, &c. ſo as to keep out theſe reliefs, as alſo fence the quarters, a Line of Circumvallation is very neceſſary; and till it

it be put in defence neither Horſe nor Foot are to pretend any reſt, or any Trench to be opened. But when all is done, if a conſiderable Army come to poſt it ſelf near this Line, if it be not very good and well Flanked, with a good Ditch and Parapet, no ground to Command it, and men ſufficient to Man it beſides thoſe in the Trenches, carrying on the attacks, it is better to hazard a Battel in a plain Field than to fight behind ſuch a Line. For the Enemy lying by you is commonly ſtrongly poſted, will annoy your Convoys and Forragers, if this will not make you raiſe your Siege. And if the Town be worth it, he will take his time to attempt your Line by force, and begins commonly an hour or two before day, alarming you round; falls on with ſome falſe attacks, and two or three real ones. Your Line is often fifteen or twenty miles about; and if a River runs by the Town, as for the moſt part there does, this Line is divided, and ſo your Army has no Communication

but by Bridges of Boats. And in this caſe it being dark, none goes to help the other; but every one ſtands to defend his part of the Line, none knowing where the real danger is, but he that feels it. And if there be a Camp Volant, with the General, he may with it march wrong as well as right: and the Enemy once entred, uſually all quit the Line, and ſeek to ſave themſelves; and it is hard to put them in any order of Battel to reſiſt; ſo that all can be hoped for, is to make a reaſonable retreat. Now in caſe the Enemy fail in their attempt, they run little or no hazard: for they retire before it be full day, and thoſe within the Line dare hardly purſue till Parties ſent out in the morning to diſcover return. Now if you draw out, and fighting, gain a Battel, tho a relief whilſt you are engaged, ſlip into the place, thoſe within ſeeing their Succour beaten, loſe courage, and in all likelihood will give you little trouble before they render.

13. A General coming before a Town with a deſign to Beſiege it, muſt be well informed of all things within and without before he opens his Trenches. For I have ſeen by the miſtake of the true attack much time trifled away with the loſs of many Lives, and I think once with the Defeat of the whole Army.

14. A General that in a retreat brings his Army to attempt the paſſing a River or great Defile, an Enemies Army being near, or in view, runs too much hazard, if it be not by neceſſity, and then he is blameable to have brought it to the extremity.

15. The paſſing of Defiles and Rivers may be attempted, an Enemies Army near or looking on, in certain caſes; as for the Succor of a Town or breaking into an Enemies Country to Conquer. The reaſon of this, is chiefly grounded in the difference of mens Courages and Reſolutions in attacking, or being attacked. For as a retreat looks ſomething like runing away, eſpecially to the Common

Soldiers, ſo advancing, raiſes them to confidence of overcoming. Store of Cannon in this caſe is of great uſe, but a General having paſſed with his Army theſe Rivers or Defiles, and being to return the ſame way, or by other Rivers, or Defiles, muſt be careful to leave the Paſſes well ſecured for his retreat; otherwiſe after all, if the Enemy ſeizes the Paſſes or Defiles behind him, he may in part or in the whole loſe his Army. Now as the paſſing of Rivers and Defiles are dangerous, ſo there ought to be great conſideration in the oppoſition, and not to put wholly the fortune of a weaker Army upon it. For if the Enemy force the Paſs, in all likelihood you ſhall be beaten. Wherefore in this caſe, if you will oppoſe, put your Army in Battel as much covered from Cannon as you can, improving the Enemies Diſorder, what you may, and as they arrive on your ſide of the Paſs, Charge, not ſuffering them to Form.

16. Great

16. Great advantages in War are rarely offered, and for the moſt part ſoon paſt. Wherefore tho patience and circumſpection are vertues in a General, or Chief Commander; yet they ought to be watchful, and hold their Troops ſo ready that they may not loſe the critical minute or precious moment; it being of ſo much importance in War, that the like peradventure may not happen in the life of a man. I have ſeen my ſelf in two or three occaſions a Victory gained, that if one quarter of an hour had been omitted in the attempt, the Fortune of the day in all likelihood had gone quite contrary to what it did. The cauſe is clear, and found by experience. For tho man in his Reaſon be the moſt excellent of all creatures on earth; yet having loſt it by the paſſion of Fear, is one of the leaſt; and fear doth ſometimes ſeize men being in ſurprize to ſuch a degree that they know not what they do.

How many men in beating up Quarters and Routs are ſlain, not da-

ring to turn their faces to make resistance; tho the very same men being, in their judgments, in divers occasions had carried themselves formerly well enough.

17. No Merchant ought to be more exact in his Books than a General in keeping account of the Enemies Provisions, how they are brought to the Army, and the days, that so he may take his advantage.

18. A General must be very wary how he engages his Army in the Siege of a Town, or Invades an Enemies Country, chiefly relying on a Party within the Town, or a rising of the People in his favor. I have seen and known fatal consequences in both, even to the loss of Armies; yet sometimes it hath succeeded. However, the offers of Enemies, or of those that live amongst them, are still to be suspected.

19. A Prince in time of War ought to be large in rewarding, and very severe in punishing. His General, whilst he is so, is to be absolute, and the Prince

Prince not apt to hear complaints againſt him. That there be from the General, even to the Corporle throughout the whole Army an entire and known ſubordination, that, each may know whom he is to command, and whom to obey. Alſo, that the Troops of the Army may as near as poſſible be on the ſame foot, and payed alike.

Yet in the King of *Spains Netherlands*, for what reaſon of State or War I could never learn, there are many important caſes undetermined; as between Generals *de Battalia*, and Governors of Provinces, in the Province under their Government who ſhould command; the General *de Battalia* coming into the Province with an Army, or Party, or with orders to command a Town.

Of the National Regiments, which are in thoſe Countries, few or none will give place to the other; from whence ariſe (ſometimes) dangerous contеſts even in the face of the Enemy.

One General *de Battalia* will not obey another.

The ſame amongſt Maiſters de Camps of Foot and Collonels of Foot.

Maiſters de Camps of Horſe and Colonels of Horſe conteſt with thoſe of the Foot; as alſo amongſt themſelves.

Captains of Horſe and Majors of Foot conteſt.

In fine, there is room left for diſpute even amongſt the Common Soldiers of ſeveral Nations.

20. The perſon of a ſucceſsfull General, beloved by the Army, and in high eſteem for his experience and Conduct in War, is highly to be valued. For the Soldiers believe that with this man they cannot be beaten, and with another of contrary Reputation they are always in doubt. The ſame holds in proportion with the inferior Commanders. I have ſeen the effect of this both in Armies and Parties.

21. An Army is more to be valued for its quality, and readineſs to Action, than for its number. 22. The

22. The Defects of an Army.

As Generals and other Commanders not of Reputation and Experience in War.

The Troops compoſed for the moſt part of new men.

The Horſe was well mounted.

Neither Horſe nor Foot well armed.

The Officers for want of pay not valuing their imployments; and the Soldiers in a Mutinous humor for the ſame cauſe.

Defects and Wants in the Artillery and its Train.

Great difference is to be made between Victorious and Cow'd or Beaten Troops, till the latter be recovered by ſome good Winter-Quarters, or other Forces joyn them.

23. A Body of Horſe retired into a weak place is never to be thought ſafe; if an Enemies Army be within

a days March of them; for once Inveſted, they are loſt.

22, Languiſhing Sieges are to be avoided; for tho an Army comes at firſt with much Reſolution and Courage, and ſo holds it on for a time they think convenient for taking ſuch a place; yet when they ſee the General doth not advance the attacks as he ought, and they loſe men by ſharp Sallies; ſometimes the Cannon nayled, and the Lodging of the night before broken down, their Convoys cut; report of an Army Marching for its ſuccour; ill weather coming on; and ſometimes a ſmall relief ſlipping into the Town, which can hardly be avoided till a place be cloſely blocked; theſe, and many other accidents, which Armies at a Siege are ſubject to, make men cool, and often deſert, to the weakening of an Army; that when the Enemies Army appears, they will be found nothing of what they were at firſt. Therefore I conclude, that reaſonable hazarding to make diſpatch is the ſaving

ving of men, and the ſureſt way of taking a Town.

25. The Confederate Armies Commanded by the Prince of *Orange* as Generaliſſimo (moſt of them preſent at the Battel of *Seneff*, and Siege of *Audenard*,) were the Emperors, Commanded by the Count *de Souch*; the King of *Spain*'s firſt by the Count *de Monterey*, afterwards by the Duke *de Villa-hermoſa*, both Governors of *Flanders*; that of the *States General*, Commanded by the Count *de Waldeck*; that of the Prince and Biſhop of *Oſnaburgh*, by Monſieur *Lovigny*; the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*'s, by Monſieur *Spaune*; that of *Luningbourgh* and *Zelle*, by Monſieur *Chouet*; the Army of *Munſter*, by the Baron *de Wedle*.

POST

POSTSCRIPT.

IT might with reaſon long ſince have been expected that I ſhould have publiſhed ſomething in my own Vindication, having been extremely ill treated in a long Letter I received from the Earl of *Angleſey* then Lord Privy-Seal, which Letter his Lordſhip ſoon after thought fit to expoſe to the view of the World in Print; but my good Fortune was that his Lordſhip by an unneceſſary digreſſion fell foul on the Duke of *Ormond* and others, for which being queſtioned, his Lordſhip ſuffered in a high degree..

As to my ſelf I ſhall only note three or four things, his Lordſhip begins his Letter to me Folio the firſt.

My Lord Caſtlehaven.

Having received your Lordſhips Letter of the 24th. currant with your printed Memoirs which you are pleaſed in ſome ſort to intitle me to; here

I muſt ſay how I came to ſend this Letter of the 24th. currant with the Memoirs.

The Earl of *Angleſey* from his houſe near *Oxford*, I being in *London*, ſent me a ſhort Letter, deſiring me to ſend him one of my Memoirs: In anſwer to this I ſent him the mentioned of the 24th. currant, all written with my own hand, telling him in it that there was no ſuch thing in nature as my Memoirs; but gueſſing at his meaning I ſent him one of the Books I ſuppoſe he meant, telling him how it came into my hands, but diſowning and proteſting againſt the Book. Now if my Lord of *Angleſey* ſhall not think fit to produce this Letter being it will ſhew too much his fondneſs to writing; yet I do undertake when called upon, to make out by undoubted teſtimony, that I diſowned thoſe Books when they firſt came to light and proteſted againſt them.

Folio 7. and 8. His Lordſhip makes my Story of two parts, as having ſerved by the Confederate Catholicks

licks Commiſſion till the Ceſſation made with the Marqueſs of *Ormond* concluded *Septemb.* 15. 1643. All which time ſaith he your Lordſhip was wholly of the Rebels Party and under their Pay and Command; the ſecond part from that time till your Lordſhip finding the ill ſtate of affairs in *Ireland*, was diſpatched by the then Lord Deputy *Clanrickard* to ſet out the ſame to the King in *France* which was in the year 51. tho his Lordſhip doth not mark it. Here this noble Lord ſhews himſelf ill informed in what paſs'd in *Ireland* in thoſe days; for in the year (44) it is notoriouſly known that I Commanded an Army in *Ulſter* againſt the *Scots* by Commiſſion from the Confederate Catholicks.

And the following year (45) by Commiſſion from the ſame perſons I Commanded another Army in *Munſter* againſt my Lord of *Inchiquin*.

In the ſame page of (8.) he ſaith, My Lord I am loth now to make my Remarques upon this ſecond part, be-

cauſe

cauſe your Lordſhip Acting therein at times under the Confederate-*Iriſh* their Commiſſion, and under his Majeſties Authority at other times, and ſometimes under both; theſe aſſertions are ſo untrue that I wonder where his Lordſhip hath picked up his Information; for it may be ſeen on Records that I ſerved by the Confederate Catholicks their Commiſſion till the Peace of (46.)

And then having laid hold on the Kings Mercy, always ſince have owned no other Authority but his, and am ſorry for the time paſt.

His Lordſhip ſpake of a Feaſt which I had prepared for the Lord of *Mungarret* and the Rebels; but the Marqueſs of *Ormond* having gained the Battel at *Killruſh* ate that I could not keep from him.

Now this is as poor an aſperſion as 'tis untrue, for the Duke of *Ormond* knows the contrary, ſo doth many more yet alive, for hardly could it be called a tolerable meal but to men that were hungry.

I ſhall

POSTSCRIPT.

I ſhall trouble the Reader with no more on this Subject, but conclude that my Lord of *Angleſeys* long Printed Letter is all along ſubject to miſtakes, ſpeaking Modeſtly.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 16. Line 7. Read *find it.* p. 17. l. 1. r. *heads.* p. 19. l. 8. r. *Premiſes.* p. 42. r. *Canon.* p. 47. r. *Loftus.* p. 48. l. 16. r. *that.* p. 57. l. 5. r. *touching.* p. 60. l. 16. r. *Scarampus.* p. 61. l. 18. r. *too.* and l. 26. r. *cull'd.* p. 64. l. 21. r. *Clanmaleer.* p. 65. l. 23. r. *Served.* l. 26. *Balla-Lenan.* p. 69. l. 6. r. *too.* p. 76. l. 16. r. *where they.* p 113. l. 4. r. *concerning.* p. 119. l. 3. dele *other.* p. 123. l. 17. r. *Athlone.* p. 169. l. 20. r. *too.*

In the Appendix.

Page 3. Line 13. read *hindering.* p. 6. l. 6. r. *to* Paris. p. 21. l. 5. r. *Dermond.* p. 22. l. 25. r. *the.* p. 53. l. 1. r. *hours.*